



Daily Report

East Europe

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Berisha, PRC Official Note 'Regenerated' Ties

AU1811195594 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha today received the delegation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, led by its vice chairman, Mr. Buhe.

I am happy to receive you and your delegation as a representative of the Chinese parliament and people, President Berisha said, welcoming the members of the delegation. I wish to express my great pleasure about the strengthening of relations between our friendly countries, Berisha said.

We follow with admiration the important progress that your country is making, which is not only in China's interest and that of its friends, but also in the interest of the entire world. Through you, I wish to convey my greetings to His Excellency President Jiang Zemin, and assure him that relations with China have a special importance for Albania. They are developing on a new basis and are permanently being regenerated through an intensive cooperation and with reciprocal profit at all levels. In this framework, we consider the cooperation in the field of investments to be very important. The Albanian Government is ready to create facilities for Chinese investments and guarantee them.

For his part, the vice chairman of the PRC National People's Congress thanked President Berisha for the warm and friendly welcome he received in Albania. He considered as very important the contacts and talks with leaders of the Albanian parliament, as well as the need to maintain closer relations between parliaments of both countries. He said that China is happy to see the regeneration of friendship and cooperation between the Albanian and Chinese peoples. Mr. Buhe stated that between our friendly countries, there exist all possibilities for cooperation in the economic, educational, cultural, technical, and health fields.

I would like to avail myself of the occasion, President Berisha told Mr. Buhe, to convey, through you, a very cordial message to the dignitary Deng Xiaoping for his stands and ideas, which opened a new epoch for China.

Wanting to assure once again your president about the friendship of the Albanian people, I express my desire to receive him in Albania as a friend of the Albanian people and government, Berisha concluded.

Chinese Meet Party Leaders

LD1811203594 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A delegation of the People's Great Assembly of China headed by the vice-chairman of it Buhe continues a visit to Albania. They had meetings with the board of the Albanian parliament and the heads of the parliamentary groups of the Democratic

Party, Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party of Albania. The talk focused on the economic development of China and the need for cooperation in the fields of economy and the exchange of the parliamentary experience. Bu He expressed the willingness for the exchange of the experience in the judicial field. He made an expose of the organization and the functioning of the Great Assembly, pointing out the problem of the ratio between the political forces and the representation of the minorities in this assembly. The Albanian deputies were interested in the strategy of the economic development in China and the necessity to revive the economic relations with this country, expressing the willingness that China be a powerful investor in Albania.

Arbnori, Chinese Confer

AU1911165694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This afternoon, People's Assembly Chairman Pjeter Arbnori received a delegation of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, led by its vice chairman Mr. Buhe.

During a conversation, Arbnori and Buhe stressed the desire of the two parliaments to strengthen and expand relations, exchange experience, as well as increase cooperation in all fields.

Mr. Arbnori highly assessed the great work of the Chinese people in the road of reforms and showed respect for the extraordinary contribution of leader Deng Xiaoping in putting forward ideas and carrying out the real economic reform.

After talking about the work of the pluralist assembly over the past two years, Mr. Arbnori pointed out that democracy cannot be built in a day, but step by step together with bolstering the economy and increasing the people's welfare. The assembly needs to have exchanges with countries of West and East and profit from their experience, but at the same time not to copy the practices of one or the other.

Mr. Buhe said that we respect the alternative of the Albanian people chosen at their own free will. He congratulated the great and effective work that is being carried out in Albania.

He went on to say that there is no conflict of interests between China and Albania. For this reason, friendship between our two peoples will continue to be strengthened in the future as well.

He conveyed to Mr. Pjeter Arbnori warm greetings from the chairman of the PRC National People's Congress.

Starova Thanks CSCE Envoy for Briefing

AU1911174394 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova thanked Mr. Van der Stoep, CSCE

high commissioner on minorities, for his briefing at the meeting, considering it informative and focused on the issues in question. He expressed the the Albanian Government's appreciation for Mr. Van der Stoel's commitment in studying and learning about the situation of the Greek minority in Albania. Mr. Stoel stressed that the Albanian Government was entirely open and unambiguous and unreservedly demonstrated its support for a successful conclusion to his mission.

Deputy Foreign Minister Starova said: We believe that the CSCE will enable the continuation of the high commissioner's mission, in order to shed light and brief this forum on the situation of the Albanian minority in Greece.

He also referred to the meeting that Mr. Stoel had with representatives of the Cameria Association during his recent visit to Albania. Mr. Starova stressed the tragedy of the Cam population following World War II and their demand that he intervene with the Greek Government to respect the rights of about 150,000 Cams in Albania who want to return to their homes and properties.

Regarding this problem, in his briefing Van der Stoel stressed that President Berisha had raised the Cam problem and requested that the problem be looked into.

Delegation Departs for Budapest CSCE Meeting

AU1811204294 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of high-ranking CSCE officials will be held in Budapest today. At the meeting Van der Stoel, the CSCE high commissioner for minorities, is expected to present a final report on the situation of minorities in Albania. He has visited Albania nine times and has frequently appraised the open stand of the Albanian Government and its seriousness in treating the problem of minorities.

We expect Mr. van der Stoel's report to be real and evaluative regarding efforts made by our government in treating minorities according to international standards, Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova, who heads the Albanian delegation at the CSCE meeting, told ATSh before his departure for Budapest.

Church Tells Berisha Draft Constitution Errs

95P20165A Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Oct 94 p 4

[Unattributed article: "General Church Council Memo to President Berisha"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an memo directed to President of the Republic Sali Berisha and to National Assembly Chairman Arbnori, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church [KOA] of Albania makes some observations on the draft constitution presented for approval by popular referendum. Quoting Paragraph 4 of Article 7 of the draft constitution, which states: "The heads of the

religious communities must be Albanian citizens, born in Albania with permanent residence in Albania during the past 20 years", the General Church Council, as a competent organ of the KOA, states that this provision conflicts not only with the title "The Lay Character of the Albanian State" but also with the paragraphs that stipulate religion is separate from the state and that the state guarantees freedom of religion. The provision restricts the freedom of religious communities to choose their leaders according to their objective needs and the existing possibilities.

Another criticism deals with the fact that small religious communities are exempted from any sort of restrictions on the choice of their leaders. The Council says that this is not compatible with the spirit which the norms of international law require. They base this on the fact that in Albania there are currently some 70 independent Protestant and other religious groups, small groups from other countries.

They also mention in the memo that [according to the draft constitution] the head of a religious community must have been a resident of Albania for 20 years while 10 years of residency are required for the head of state and only two years for deputies.

The memo says that the provision is aimed exclusively at the KOA and causes anxiety not only for today but also for the future. In conclusion, the Council stresses that it is tragic that the constitution of the Republic of Albania appears to be less contemporary and less democratic in regard to religious freedom than the constitution of the Zog era and the constitution during the early days of the communist period which at least treated the religions without differentiation and left any special regulations to the statute of the church.

Director of Arab Islamic Bank Interviewed

95P20160A Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 25 Sep 94 p 2

[Interview with Dr. El Gharib Nasser, director general of the Albanian Arab Islamic Bank, by Artur Kopani; place and date not given: "I Aim to Make the Bank Successful"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Albanian Arab Islamic Bank (AAIB) opened officially on 1 July 1994, in Tirana. Its main shareholders are: the Albanian National Bank of Commerce with 40 percent of the shares, the Arab Islamic Bank (Bahrain) with 20 percent, the Islamic Development Bank (Saudi Arabia) with 15 percent, the Dllah-Baraka Group (Saudi Arabia) with 10 percent, and individual shareholders from Saudi Arabia with 10 percent.*

The AAIB manages investments on the basis of the "Mudarba Contract", which is a contract that sets the bases for an investor to participate in the profits instead of receiving interest payments specified in advance. In addition, the AAIB invests funds using investment mechanisms which are in accord with its principles.

In order to learn more about this bank, we met with Dr. El Gharib M. Nasser, its general director.

[Kopani] What role does the AAIB play in the Albanian banking system?

[Nasser] We are considered to be a second-level bank in Albania. We are classified as second-level on the basis of the following criteria: First, the bank's ownership—whether it is state-owned, a joint enterprise, or under private ownership and second, its participation in the market. This criterion is in accord with the capacity of the bank in regard to investments, services, etc.

[Kopani] What are the priority areas in your activity?

[Nasser] We have some priorities which we express in our banking policy, which is based on certain factors, in which the policy which the Albanian Government follows in the socioeconomic area is important. At present, we are concerned with industry, construction, agriculture, and the basic needs of trade. We currently have investments in trade, housing, and industry.

[Kopani] Many of the other banks have branches in all the districts of the country. Does the lack of such a structure cause any difficulties for the AAIB?

[Nasser] Since we are just beginning our work, this has not caused any problems. We have authorization to open branches of our bank. Next year, we will open branches in seven or eight of the main cities of Albania.

[Kopani] Do any religious criteria enter into the choice of customers for your bank?

[Nasser] Some people have this mistaken suspicion. Our bank is just like all the other banks. But its techniques are not traditional because our main purpose is to

achieve joint profits with the customers, whether they be in banking or in investments. These techniques are known in the world. All the Islamic banks operate in the same way. There are European and American banks which use the same techniques. Therefore, our banking policy is to work with all. Furthermore, we are working in the framework of Law No.7559 of the Bank of Albania.

[Kopani] Do you have any projects for the future?

[Nasser] I aim to make the bank successful.

[Kopani] You are in constant contact with foreign businessmen. Do you think that they will invest in Albania?

[Nasser] There are many businessmen who are interested in investing in Albania and we have made it possible for them to come here. We participated in a number of conferences where we made contact with many businessmen. When they discovered that they had no information or, more likely, unfavorable information about Albania, they decided to come and work with us.

[Kopani] What difficulties have you experienced in Albania?

[Nasser] We have not had many difficulties and the ones that we have had are normal. These difficulties were not caused by high-level officials. On the contrary, we have had the support of the president, the prime minister, and the entire Albanian Government. The problems are with the low-level functionaries who are mired in corruption. Unfortunately, they are interested in putting a stop to the good things which work toward democracy and putting in motion those which hinder democracy.

[Kopani] Thank you.

Zhelev Comments on Ties to France, EU

AU2111100594 Paris AFP in English 0924 GMT
21 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, Nov 21 (AFP)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev is to begin Monday [21 Nov] the first official visit to France by a Bulgarian leader and is expected to sign several economic, transport and cultural accords.

Zhelev is scheduled during his four-day trip to meet with French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Edouard Balladur and other French officials.

"Bulgaria attributes great importance to French investments," Zhelev said over the weekend before embarking on his trip. Trade between France and Bulgaria in 1993 was at \$1.5 billion.

Zhelev said he was "confident" that France, which takes over the European Union's rotating presidency in January, will back Bulgaria in its bid for closer ties with the EU.

LE FIGARO Interview

BR2111132394 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Nov 94
p 3

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Stephane Kovacs in Sofia; date not given: "Zhelyu Zhelev: 'Europe Has No Strategy'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Today Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev starts an official three-day visit to France, three weeks before parliamentary elections in his own country. Born in 1935, this former philosophy professor symbolizes, in the eyes of some 9 million Bulgarians, the rejection of the communist regime. He was elected head of state in August 1990 by parliament consisting of a socialist-former communist majority, and was confirmed two years later by universal suffrage.*

[Kovacs] Why do you want to join the European Union [EU]?

[Zhelev] For all the countries newly liberated from communism, joining the EU represents a guarantee of the irreversibility of the reform process. These countries would find it to hard to make this difficult transition to the market economy without European aid.

[Kovacs] Faced with the EU's impotence toward the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, are you not rather skeptical about the security guarantees it can offer you?

[Zhelev] Once Bulgaria has joined the EU and NATO it will have a full guarantee of its security.

[Kovacs] You said a few years ago that if Europe did not do everything possible to make the Balkans European, the Balkans would come to balkanize Europe.

[Zhelev] Unfortunately that has already happened in part. It is in Europe's interest to find a solution for the

Balkans, a sort of Marshall plan to better attach these countries to the continent and to stabilize them. That is why I say to you: "Europeanize us quickly, for you not to Balkanize yourselves."

[Kovacs] Does France have a role to play in your integration in the EU?

[Zhelev] In January France will take over the EU presidency. It could effectively support the application of a French-speaking country like Bulgaria.

[Kovacs] Do you think, like President Mladenov—the last communist president—that the West has selfishly "turned its back" on Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] That is going too far. But not enough attention is given to the Balkans. Europe has no strategy for the Balkans. One has the impression that the Europeans are acting a little in the manner of firemen: They put out the fire and go away.

[Kovacs] What is the situation regarding the Black Sea Community (footnote) (Albania, Greece, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia)? Is there not a contradiction between regional integration and European integration?

[Zhelev] On the contrary, this type of regional cooperation allows our countries to reach economic stabilization and meet the European criteria quicker. But our main objective remains joining the EU.

[Kovacs] Is your wish to join NATO motivated by the proximity of a disintegrated and unstable former Soviet Union?

[Zhelev] We do not feel threatened by one country in particular. But if, for example, the conflict in the former Yugoslavia were to spread, who could we count on? Bulgaria has an army of 100,000 men. It would be incapable of opposing the Turkish army if that was necessary.

[Kovacs] Bulgaria has a common frontier with the former Yugoslavia. Do you see an end to the conflict which is taking place at your doorstep?

[Zhelev] I tend to be pessimistic. I do not see a durable solution for the near future. And as neighbors, we want this conflict to finish as soon as possible. Because we are suffering the consequences of it: The embargo has cost us around \$5 billion. Bulgaria is now categorized among high-risk countries for foreign investors. Finally we are seeing a development of organized crime and smuggling.

[Kovacs] What is your position in this conflict?

[Zhelev] Right from the start we took a firm position not to intervene militarily, nor even to send UN troops to Bosnia. We insisted to all the Balkan countries, and all our neighbors, for them not to become involved in the conflict. Unfortunately Turkey did not respect that, it sent UN troops.

[Kovacs] What balance sheet would you give of the economic reforms undertaken in the last five years?

[Zhelev] The economic reforms have not progressed far enough. Around 50 percent of land has been returned to its former owners. Privatization has been much delayed: Only 10-15 percent of state-owned companies are concerned.

[Kovacs] How do you explain the probable return of the former communists in 18 December's elections?

[Zhelev] It has not happened yet! Bulgaria is an unpredictable country! Even if the former communists return to power, it will be impossible for them to interrupt the reform process. Because the president remains in place!

Gyurdzhekliev Notes Airspace Violations by Greeks

AU1811191294 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian
14-20 Nov 94 pp 9, 10

[Interview with Colonel Gyurdzhekliev, Bulgarian Air Force deputy commander, by Valya Nikolova; place and date not given: "Every Error Will Be Fatal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nikolova] Could you comment on the recent violations of our airspace by Greek military aircraft?

[Gyurdzhekliev] The Greek Air Force conducted maneuvers in the proximity of our border. However, one cannot establish with certainty whether the violations were deliberate and purposeful. Nevertheless, the fact that our airspace has been violated is beyond any doubt. Other cases, where there is a deviation from a preliminarily announced route or timetable, are treated in a different manner. In such cases, we speak about violating the flight regime. If, in the last five years, our airspace has been violated 12 times, violations of the flight regime are an almost daily event.

Two services in our country are in charge of air traffic and safety—the Air Traffic Administration and the Air Force Center. The lack of a common superdepartmental authority in charge of uniting and coordinating the activity of civil and military aviation poses a serious problem. To put it in plain words, occasionally the Air Traffic Administration does not convey information to us about the international passenger transport traffic. The result is that when the aircraft in question flies over our territory, we have still not identified it. In such cases, we treat it as a violator.

[Nikolova] Who, in the final analysis, makes the decision on action in such cases?

[Gyurdzhekliev] In such cases, it is the Air Force that is responsible for making the decision and acting accordingly.

[Nikolova] How long does it take from the moment the decision has been made until action against the violator is effected?

[Gyurdzhekliev] This depends on the situation and the circumstances—from 2-3 minutes to several minutes. Nerves of steel and impeccable qualifications that prompt almost automatic reactions are necessary. The fighters enter a state of combat readiness, and this also applies to the anti-aircraft troops, and all guard units and additional monitoring means. In recent years, there has been no case in which we attacked an aircraft and shot it down. When a violator does not comply with the signals indicated by our fighters and ground services, the best course of action is to intercept it and force it to land at a specific airport. If the violator refuses to comply with the international signals, we will have to attack it. If it has been established that this is a deliberate violation, we could adopt a decision to destroy the violator. However, this is very difficult.

[Nikolova] What sanctions could Bulgaria impose on a country whose aircraft have violated our airspace?

[Gyurdzhekliev] The Air Force Staff cannot comment on the sanctions, because it does not apply them. What the Air Force is called upon to do is to increase the combat readiness of its units and equipment, and when a real violation of our airspace is established—the Air Force must act. Afterward, the Air Force or the Border Troops file their report, and then the Ministry of Defense or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes over.

[Nikolova] How long does it take from the moment the decision is adopted to the moment the fighters take off?

[Gyurdzhekliev] About 7-8 minutes, in accordance with the time, the meteorological conditions, and other circumstances.

[Nikolova] A F-16 could cross our entire territory in 8 minutes....

[Gyurdzhekliev] There is a space along our borders, inside the territory of the neighboring countries, which is being monitored by our radar installations. When a foreign aircraft enters this space we detect it, and when it approaches our state border we are ready to act. When the airspace is violated, our fighters are ordered to take off. Every error in the decision to issue an appropriate command—making it too soon or too late—can be fatal.

Plovdiv International Arms Fair Brings Offers

AU2111104594 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Nov 94 p 10

[Article by Vanya Mincheva and Vasil Lyutskanov: "Russian, Greek, Turkish Companies Offer Our Weapons Factories Joint Production"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In only two days more than 10,000 visitors visited the Hemus-94 First International

Arms Fair in Plovdiv and were able to convince themselves that our defense industry is still alive.

At least 1,000 Bulgarian and foreign experts and arms dealers, military attaches accredited in Bulgaria, bankers, politicians, and industrialists took part in the three seminars organized by the Defense Ministry. A dozen delegations from countries that are our traditional and new partners came to conduct business talks with our weapons producers. Among them there were delegations from Russia, Germany, Turkey, Greece, Israel, Slovakia, Moldova, and Syria. Some 30 famous Bulgarian defense industry companies and the 12 repair plants of the Defense Ministry exhibited their best products. It became apparent that our defense industry could compete in the cruel international markets. For the first time in five years, during which the military-industrial complex has been undermined by politicians-pacifists, transitional trade unionists, and pseudoconversions, the chiefs of the defense industry have been summoned by the deputy prime minister, and asked to express their pain and desires, in the company of the ministers of defense, foreign affairs, and industry.

Ivan Kolev, deputy chairman of the Interdepartmental Arms Council, reported that the sales of the military-industrial complex have doubled since 1993. However, our profit in foreign currency is only about 20 percent of what it used to be before 1990. The Bulgarian defense industry companies created 5,000 new jobs in 1994. However, almost 30,000 jobs have been eliminated in the last five years.

The Bulgarian companies did not exhibit many novelties, because according to the experts, there is not enough money for scientific research and investments. However, according to Major General Simeon Petkovski, director of the fair and chief of the Defense Ministry Economic Administration, the foreign experts liked our radar systems radiofuses [radiovzrivateli] "Sturshel," "Shturets," "Kaliakra," "Liliya," and "Dunav." Professor Boyan Petkov, chief of the Defense Ministry Scientific Research Administration, pointed out that we have a good chance of developing joint production of radioelectronic combat devices, an area in which we already produce four generations of products. Our Kalashnikov automatic rifles also have a very good chance. According to the foreign experts, the Kalashnikovs produced by "Arsenal," are not inferior to the Russian original. Many companies throughout the world prefer our Kalashnikovs to those of Russia and the Czech Republic. The combination of the automatic rifle and the 40-mm "Castor" rocket launcher was highly regarded. The "Terem" company of the Ministry of Defense exhibited the longest piece of equipment—a 534-mm torpedo used against submarines. Its price is close to \$1 million.

The military attaches also busily photographed certain examples of equipment for armored carriers. Gen. Petkovski pointed out that we are interested in regularly marketing self-propelled mortars and combat vehicles

for ground forces. Interesting cooperation talks have been conducted by the Georgi Benkovski Aircraft Plant in Plovdiv regarding the repair of MiG-21 and MiG-23 aircraft, which are the basic Air Force aircraft in many Arab and African countries. The military attaches have been shown the Graf Ignatievo plant and airstrip, but not the engine repair base. Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev, joined the attaches at his own request. [passage omitted]

Construction of Nuclear Power Plant Urged

*AU1811191194 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian
14 Nov 94 p 8*

[Article by Engineer Georgi Banov: Second Nuclear Power Plant Is Necessary for Our Independence"]

[FBIS Translated Text] More than 2 billion old leva are buried in the ground near Belene. For years, the frame of the second nuclear power plant stands there without any use. Rent is being paid for the reactors, which are abroad.

The Belene public is firmly against the construction of the nuclear power plant. The people are afraid of the proximity to Kozloduy and the radiation. Pseudo-environmentalists yell "The Apocalypse is coming!" Subsequently, the people are afraid, and who could blame them?

However, the truth has another facet. Hardly any of the most fervent opponents has ever seen the plans for the nuclear power plant. The bulky files are accumulating dust at the Committee on Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy in Sofia. Thousands of expert opinions have been written. Most of them have been coordinated with the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. Seismological measurements have been conducted and even the danger of an eventual flood—something that has not happened for years along the Danube—has been taken into consideration.

No foreign expert ever refused to sign the expert opinion, but this is hardly known to the Belene people. The IAEA is a respected organization, which does not issue permits lightly, as, for example, the Bulgarian Government does.

Elementary calculations prove that a second nuclear power plant in Belene will eliminate the power supply problem. Two 1,000- megawatt reactors will eliminate for ever our dependence on Russia, Ukraine, and others, who could switch off the power supply at any time. The construction of a second nuclear power plant would lead to a national independence—something that certain circles in our political life obviously do not want.

When there is electric power, there is everything. It was not by accident that Lenin put electric power before the power of the soviets in his famous quotation ["Communism is electric power plus all power in the hands of the soviets"]. When there is enough power, the people are satisfied and the enterprises function properly. Not one

of the National Electricity Company chiefs would have the pleasure of saying: "If the temperature drops below zero, there will be power rationing."

There is yet another fact that is being concealed from the broad public: In a major article, the 21ST CENTURY U.S. magazine explained the system of economic genocide.

In 1993, the most powerful environmental protection organizations, such as Greenpeace, received subsidies that were larger than the combined gross national product of 100 developing countries. Bulgaria certainly belongs to this list.

The scheme is very simple. A show of rising ecological noise is being organized, and the economic dependence of small states is immediately guaranteed. They are denied access to all modern technologies and must beg the big ones for alms. Often, the small ones are left in the era of Fred Flintstone. The funding of such "environmental protection" enterprises is organized by major foundations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation. Everyone knows that the planet's industrial capital is behind those foundations.

However, things are different in the developed countries. Some 60 percent of the power in France is produced by nuclear power plants, and no one makes any noise about

this. The world mass media carry almost daily reports about the leakage of radioactive waste from U.S. nuclear power plants. Nevertheless, so far, no such plant has been closed.

The modern nuclear power plants have very reliable safety systems. So far, there have been no serious complaints in this sphere regarding our Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The Chernobyl accident was the result of the ignorance and stupidity at a completely different nuclear reactor. No one denies the accident occurred, and everyone should learn from it.

The Swiss also think that they are very smart. During the day, their hydraulic power plants do not function, and the nuclear power plants supply the power. During the night, when consumption drops, they activate the hydraulic power plants and export the power.

The problem is that it has always been difficult to tell the truth in Bulgaria. This also applies to the Belene Nuclear Power Plant. No one in Bulgaria likes the darkness, but apparently, some people prefer to import coal from the Republic of South Africa rather than complete the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant. The result, in addition to living in darkness, is that the state is being impoverished even more.

Independents Lead in Local Elections

*LD2011191894 Prague CT 1 Television Network in
Czech 1830 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] According to partial results, almost 64 percent of citizens entitled to vote or, in other words, more than 4 million citizens, participated in the local elections this year. Final results are known in more than 98 percent of towns and villages. Results from about 100 localities are still expected.

[Unidentified correspondent] As for the seats that have been won, the Association of Independent Candidates [Sdruzeni nezavislych kandidatu] is in first place by winning 23,379 seats, which represents 39.2 percent. Second place goes to the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, with 7,427 seats, which is 12.5 percent. They are followed by the Civic Democratic Party, which won 6,150 seats. In fourth place are independent candidates, with 6,333 seats. The fifth is the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, which won 5,510 seats.

Regarding the number of votes counted, the lead belongs to the Civic Democratic Party, which has won 24.2 percent so far. Second place goes to the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia with 14.6 percent, followed by the Association of Independent Candidates, with 10.7 percent. In fourth place is the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, which gained 9.2 percent of votes. Fifth place goes to the Czech Social Democratic Party, which managed to win 7.7 percent of the votes.

These data correspond to the result of the elections to local and cities' councils.

ODS Biggest Winner in Brno

*LD2111120194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in
Czech 1100 GMT 21 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A short while ago, the Brno city electoral commission announced the results of local elections to the Brno city council. Our Brno correspondent Radovan Fendrych reports:

[Fendrych] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] will have the strongest position on the city council. The ODS has won 14 seats. The ODS is followed by the communists [Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia—KSCM] and the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], with seven seats each. The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] won five seats, and the Social Democrats also won five.

The results scored by the Moravian parties can be regarded as an election failure. Jan Krycer's Czech-Moravian Party of the Center won only one seat, and Ivan Drimal's Moravian National Party has two. The Movement for Self-Governing Moravia and Silesia will

have two representatives. The Greens, the Free Democrats, the Party of Businessmen, the Christian Democratic Party, the Association for the Republic, the Democratic Union, and some other political parties also have seats on the Council.

The final election turnout in Brno was 57.7 percent.

ODS Wins in Ostrava

*LD2111142894 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in
Czech 1300 GMT 21 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Alexander Mencl from Czech Radio's Ostrava studio is on the line now to tell us about the election results in Ostrava, which is the Republic's third-biggest city:

[Mencl] The turnout in the election to the Ostrava city council was 50.8 percent of registered voters, who elected 55 future members of the Ostrava council. A total of 18 parties ran in the elections, 17 seats were won by the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], 13 seats were won by the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], and six seats were won by the Czech Social Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

Party Leaders Comment on Low Election Turnout

*LD2011163194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in
Czech 1540 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have asked some Czech political leaders to comment on the local election results that have emerged so far. First, Daniel Kroupa, speaking on behalf of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA].

[Begin Kroupa recording] In my view, the local elections were very successful for ODA because they revealed more than a 100-percent increase in our vote since the last parliamentary elections. In big towns, we gained between 10 and 20 percent, and in some places we even won. The relatively low turnout of voters is, to a certain extent, a disappointment. In my view, this has been, to a considerable extent, caused by the short election campaign and by the fact that some people seem not to care about local elections, about local politics. [end recording]

Petr Moravek, the deputy chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], gave us the following reply to the same question:

[Begin Moravek recording] We are rather disappointed by the turnout for the local elections. The results as regards the CSSD are, so far, as expected. We consider them to be satisfactory. [end recording]

And here is the view of Jiri Dienstbier, chairman of the Free Democrats [SD]:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] As regards our party, I consider the results so far to be very good. [passage omitted] However, I consider the fact that so few citizens turned out for the elections to be a very bad signal. This

is probably a reflection of the growing distrust in the political process. I think we Free Democrats should contribute to renewing trust in politics, in the belief that politics is a decent activity. [end recording]

Klaus, Other Party Heads Pleased With Elections

LD2011180094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1620 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have asked several other prominent politicians to share their views of the preliminary results of local elections. Speaking now is Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]:

[Begin Klaus recording] Well, I dislike assessing something that is not final. However, the bulk of the figures is already such that some basic judgments can be made. I think the low turnout is somewhat disappointing to all. However, this turnout is only low when compared with the parliamentary elections or with what we were perhaps used to in the past. It is clear now that this turnout is a standard European local elections turnout.

As for the results, I think the local elections results have confirmed local ones [sentence as heard]. These results have not given anybody the slightest chance to speculate that there was some kind of political shift in either direction. On behalf of the ODS, I am extremely satisfied with these results. [end recording]

Josef Lux, chairman of the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL], which had very good local election results, has also shared his immediate impressions.

[Begin Lux recording] We expected to be one of the two most successful parties. Local elections are a competition for town hall posts—that is, seats. It seems that we came out best in this competition, and naturally we are pleased. My explanation of this is that our candidates have accepted the largest share of responsibility for local policy. I would like to thank all those who voted for our candidates, and I would like to state quite clearly that we, as a political party, intend to support these candidates during their entire time in office. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Yet another view was brought to us in a phone call from Ivan Pilip, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS], Ivan Pilip.

[Begin Pilip recording] In my view, the elections were fair. The turnout was perhaps somewhat lower than expected, but it is still very good with regard to our region or with regard to the postcommunist countries. The local elections turnout tends to be lower than in parliamentary elections.

As for the KDS results, I would assess them, on the basis of what is available to us so far, as average. [passage omitted] We hoped to achieve somewhat better results.

Nevertheless, I consider the success achieved by coalition parties, especially that of the ODS and the KDU-CSL in smaller towns, to be a positive sign. I think this means there is a support for the rightist policy and for the transformation policy.

On the other hand, I am disappointed to see that, from among those who oppose the transformation, the most extreme power—that is, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia—has gained the largest support. [end recording]

Havel Discusses Citizenship Law, Local Elections

LD2011173494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 20 Nov 94

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Robert Tamchyna in Prague, date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] Mr. President, in the last "Conversations," you said that you intended to devote today's interview to your views on what seems to be a topical issue—that of acquiring Czech citizenship. [passage omitted]

[Havel] [Passage omitted] I would like to mention several general thoughts. First, the citizenship law of the Czech Republic really corresponds to laws on this subject in other countries. Let us take, for instance, the demand that an applicant for citizenship should be free of any conviction for a certain period before his application. Laws of other countries usually stipulate this as well. Ours is really a law that can stand comparison with similar laws. From the theoretical point of view, our law is not faulty.

The truth is that the implementation of this law has brought out problems that concern rather large groups of people. The law was probably unable to envisage all of these problems. I do not think any amendment of the law is called for. It would probably not make sense and perhaps would cause further complications. However, the issue is the implementation of the law. All relevant documents reveal that much more could be done in specific executive practice. [passage omitted]

A very important current issue is the one of permanent permission to remain. [passage omitted]

However, it is true that a certain number of citizens have found themselves in a very difficult situation. To a certain extent, it is a legacy of communism. A special situation existed here because we all were Czechoslovak citizens and, at the same time, citizens of one of the republics. [passage omitted]

There are a number of additional problems, also linked to our past. Certain people were brought here by force from Slovakia. For years they did not have permanent housing here because their accommodation did not entitle them to have it recognized as permanent, or,

simply, it was not recognized as such. It was described as temporary housing, despite the fact that they lived here for, let us say, three or four generations. This means that now they do not fulfill the condition of having lived here permanently. [passage omitted]

No doubt this is a serious problem. However, I would repeat that this problem concerns, above all, the executive power. [passage omitted]

My general view is that this is a matter of practice rather than one of law.

[Tamchyna] The local elections are being held in the Czech Republic this weekend. [passage omitted]

[Havel] [passage omitted] I think I should say one thing with regard to the elections. It seems that it would not be correct to interpret the percentage of votes received in the elections as some unquestionable information about

a shift in one or the other direction in the political awareness of our society. Local elections are, after all, different.

For instance, many parties did not put forward their candidate lists in various villages and small towns. For various reasons, other parties put forward their candidate lists throughout the entire republic. There are also cases when their candidates are the only candidates.

Those people, who are not aware of all these aspects, could perhaps draw some inappropriate conclusions from the results. I do not know the election results at the moment, but I believe that many citizens will vote and that they will really pick the most suitable representatives for their local councils.

I would be really reluctant to consider the parties' representation in local councils and the overall percentage representation of individual parties in our entire republic to be an unequivocal indicator of our citizens' political leanings. [passage omitted]

EU Commissioner Leon Brittan Cancels Visit

AU1811192394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Nov 94 p 12

[TA SR Brussels "dispatch": "Brittan Will Not Come to Slovakia; European Commission Has No Knowledge About Nonobservance of Press Freedom in Our Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—European Union Foreign Trade Commissioner Leon Brittan, who is also responsible for the European Union's relations with the countries of Central and East Europe, has canceled his planned visit to Slovakia.

"At present, there are no political reasons for the visit to Bratislava to take place," a spokesman for the European Commission told the TA SR Brussels correspondent yesterday. According to him, a period in which talks about the formation of a new government are under way in the Slovak Republic is not suitable for the European Commission deputy chairman's visit.

Asked whether the visit has been canceled or postponed, the spokesman said that Leon Brittan's visit to Slovakia before the inauguration of the new European Commission (in mid-January 1995) was unlikely. The department of EU relations with the countries of Central and East Europe will be taken over then by Dutch Commissioner Hans van den Broek.

The European Commission has no knowledge about the nonobservance of press freedom in the Slovak Republic, the European Commission spokesman confirmed to the TA SR correspondent yesterday. Asked by a French reporter whether the European Union intended to adopt any measures against Slovakia regarding the threat to press freedom there, the spokesman said at yesterday's briefing in Brussels that the European Commission very closely monitors the observance of human rights and press freedom in all associate countries, including Slovakia. He explained that the European agreements on association (association agreements) contain a clause including the associate countries' commitment to observe those rights. Should events occur in any of these states running counter to the spirit of the association agreement, the European Union could draw appropriate consequences against such a state. The EU spokesman said at the briefing that it was premature to draw any conclusions from the situation in Slovakia. He assured reporters that, should some irregularities be ascertained, the Commission would draw consequences from them.

Turkmen President Discusses Economic Cooperation

LD1811203194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov ended his two-day official visit to Slovakia today. The press department of our Foreign Affairs Ministry has issued a joint statement for TASR.

The statement says that the two sides have singled out mining, processing, and light industry, the oil and gas

sector, transport, commerce, agriculture, communications, and the pharmaceutical industry as the priorities of bilateral cooperation.

To implement the agreements concluded during Saparmurad Niyazov's visit to Slovakia, an economic delegation will be sent to Turkmenistan by the Slovak Government. President Michal Kovac has also accepted an invitation to visit Turkmenistan.

Results of Election of Local Mayors, Deputies

LD2011175894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In the local polls, the election of mayors has been won by independent candidates, who polled 28.8 percent of the vote. In second place is the Party of the Democratic Left, with 17.91 percent. Third place goes to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which polled 15.95 percent; fourth place is taken by the Christian Democratic Movement, with 15.09 percent; and fifth place goes to Coexistence, with 4.66 percent.

As for elected deputies, first place goes to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, with 23.6 percent; second place goes to the Christian Democratic Movement, with 20.26 percent; third place is taken by the Party of the Democratic Left, with 15.9 percent; fourth place goes to independent candidates, with 7.81 percent; and fifth place goes to Coexistence, with 6.31 percent.

Moravcik Government's 1995 Budget Draft

AU1911165094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Ivan Stulajter: "Keeping Budget Deficit at Projected Level Hinges on Privatization Process"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to the preliminary draft of the state budget for 1995, aggregate budget revenue represents 125.543 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] and expenditure Sk146.143 billion. The projected state budget deficit is Sk20.6 billion. According to the IMF methodology, which subtracts the repayment of principal (Sk6.4 billion in 1995) from the deficit, the budget deficit amounts to Sk14.2 billion, which represents 3.7 percent of the projected GDP level. The only way to keep the deficit within bounds is through the use of resources of the National Property Fund (FNM) to cover a part of the debt service. A sum of Sk18.5094 billion from FNM funds is to be used next year to cover a part of expenditures stemming from the Slovak Republic's indebtedness. FNM resources (Sk4 billion) are also to be used in support of development programs. The draft state budget is based on the following macroeconomic assumptions: 2-percent growth in the GDP; inflation of 8 percent; unemployment at 15-18 percent; and surpluses in the balances of payments and trade. Part and parcel of the draft state budget are several legislative amendments and measures. The National Bank of Slovakia is to surrender Sk5 billion of its profits to the state budget. Subsidies for municipal

and community budgets for urban transportation reach Sk822 million. Proceeds from the personal income tax are to be distributed in the following ratio: 77.55 percent will go into the state budget and 22.45 percent into community budgets, while 95 percent of proceeds from the corporate income tax will become income of the state budget and 5 percent income of community budgets. Likewise, 50 percent of proceeds from fines imposed by taxation authorities will become communities' revenue. The government is authorized in 1995 to assume state guarantees for bank credits extended only for the completion of the Mochovce nuclear power station up to a sum equivalent to 25 percent of state budget revenue—that is, up to Sk26.4 billion [sentence as published].

In 1995, the state will pay health insurance premiums to the amount of 13.7 percent from 45 percent of minimum wages (until now, it has been paying 13.7 percent from 10 percent of minimum wages), sick pay insurance premiums in the amount of 4.8 percent from 10 percent of minimum wages (until now, 5.8 percent from 10 percent of minimum wages), and pension insurance premiums in the amount of 27.5 percent from 80 percent of minimum wages (until now, 26.5 percent from 90 percent of minimum wages). The draft state budget also envisages the introduction of wage regulation next year. Its qualitative indicators will be set out by the government in a decree. It also provides for an amendment to the "bankruptcy" law, under which state budget-funded and subsidized organizations and public corporations are to be exempted from its jurisdiction. Another change concerns an amendment to the law on pension increases. Under this amendment, it will be possible to raise pensions if, according to Slovak Statistical Office data, the cost of living goes up by at least 10 percent, but not earlier than three months after the previous rise in pensions. Until now, it has been possible to raise pensions also on the basis of estimated growth of the cost of living and growth of average wages. Both lump sum and percentual increases of pensions will be stipulated by government decrees (until now, pensions could be adjusted only by means of a law). By means of an amendment to the law on employment, the period of payment of unemployment support is to be extended from six to nine months. State guarantees for the solvency of insurance funds are also to undergo changes. The state will participate in ensuring the solvency of the General Health Insurance Company by providing returnable financial assistance in the maximum amount of 50 percent of its level of insolvency. The same state guarantees will apply to the Social Insurance Company and the insurance companies set up by the Ministries of Interior and Defense. The draft law on the state budget envisages the abolition of Government Decree No. 145 of 1993 on conditions for exempting tax payers from the income tax. The draft government resolution on the 1995 state budget states, among other things, that the minister of transportation is to reassess by 31 January 1995 the provision of benefits to employees, family members, and

pensioners in the sphere of railroad and bus transportation, within the framework of which special attention is to be paid to the staff of the Ministry of Transportation. The labor minister should submit an amendment to the law on child allowances by 28 February 1995. This amendment should target the payment of child allowances even more specifically than current legislation, lower the child allowance for the fourth and any subsequent child, and reduce the age limit defining the term "dependent child." On the other hand, legislation on the provision of social scholarships should be adopted, and the possibility should be introduced for university students to take out loans under preferential terms.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 November on page 2 carries a 600-word Ivan Podstupka report on the 16 November meeting of the Slovak Government, which discussed the budget draft for 1995. The report specifies that the FNM is to cover Sk18 billion out of the Sk35 billion of state debt to be serviced in 1995 and that it should obtain this money from direct privatization sales and bond issues.]

Roundtable Discussion

LD2011180394

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1225 GMT on 20 November carries a live 79-minute studio roundtable discussion, "Kroky," hosted by an unidentified moderator, with the following participants: Slovak Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus; Slovak Transport Minister Mikulas Dzurinda; Vilam Vaskovic, deputy chairman of the Democratic Union and former vice president and chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Property Fund, FNM; Sergej Kozlik, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS; Jan Ducky, HZDS deputy and member of the FNM Executive Committee; and Jan Kato, an FNM director in charge of strategy and liquidity.

The moderator opens the program by announcing that the discussion will focus on the draft of the 1995 state budget.

Filkus rejects suggestions that the current government has slowed down the work on the 1995 state budget. HZDS representatives Kozlik and Ducky maintain that the HZDS objected mainly to the Moravcik Cabinet's attempt to find a hasty solution to the problematic relationship between the government and the FNM. FNM Director Kato notes that the new FNM management needed time to specify what its approach to the budget drafting problems will be.

The moderator asks Finance Minister Filkus to sum up the basis on which the 1995 state budget had been compiled.

Filkus replies that the 1995 budget was based on macroeconomic considerations. He says: "It should be said that it was thanks to the management of the economy between January and October that the positive economic results, which served as a basis for drafting macroeconomic policy for next year in the 1995 budget, have been achieved."

Filkus adds: "Thanks to this, we agreed to apply macro-economic criteria in the 1995 budget. According to these criteria, the GDP growth will be at least 2 percent. I personally think it will be more than 2 percent, that it will be 3 percent. Furthermore, the rate of inflation will be 8-10 percent, and the unemployment rate will be 15-17 percent. The state budget deficit, which we intend to keep down because of what was said in the government's memorandum addressed to the IMF and the World Bank, should not exceed 4 percent of the GDP." He says that the economy had been stabilizing and that there were signals of economic revival.

HZDS and government representatives then discuss who deserved the credit for the good economic prognosis. Kozlik says that the Meciar government's policy was about to show good results when Meciar was removed from power. On the government's behalf, Dzurinda notes the favorable economic development and the fact that the government had succeeded in reducing the imbalance between budget revenues and expenditures over the past few months.

Dzurinda then discusses the "major political risks" represented by the 1995 budget. He says: "The first point is that the budget will be proposed by the government that resigned a month ago. The second point is that two of the three parties that form the present government said they would not join the new HZDS government, and, likewise, the HZDS does not want anything to do with the third party, the Democratic Union. The third point is that almost two months have gone by since the elections, and we have no idea what government coalition there will be. The fourth point is that we have a parliamentary coalition that, among other things, adopts laws that infringe on the executive rights (of the government)."

Dzurinda adds: "The sum total of these realities is that proposing the state budget in the National Council of the Slovak Republic is an abnormal thing to do in Slovakia. It is abnormal because the government that proposes it does not have support in the parliament. The other fact is that we are trying to bravely execute the duties set out by the Constitution. The third point I would like to mention is that this indisputable abnormal state of affairs has to be changed as soon as possible."

Kozlik disagrees with Dzurinda, saying that this situation is commonplace elsewhere in the world.

The discussion then focuses on the sources Slovakia has for financing foreign debt repayments and development programs on the one hand, and on the FNM's role in creating these sources on the other. The privatization of major Slovak companies as a source of FNM revenue is discussed. The HZDS representatives reiterate that Slovak companies should not be sold to foreign investors.

In conclusion, the moderator asks: "What can be expected from the 1995 budget? Can we expect that a provisional budget will be proposed?"

Filkus replies: "I do not think this will be the case. I think we will succeed in proposing an acceptable budget."

Kozlik adds that a provisional budget was not an exceptional thing elsewhere in the world. He says: "For us, for the other side, it is very important to have the state budget very soon. However, I point out that it must be a good state budget."

Government Office Statement

LD1811234394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Press and Information Department of the Government Office has issued a statement on the preparation of next year's state budget. The statement declares, among other things, that outlining the state budget is the kind of task requiring talks with other bodies, such as the National Property Fund.

The representatives of the newly elected board of the fund have, however, refused to attend the arranged meeting with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmoegnerova, and Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus.

Being busy at work, which was the reason given as an apology for their absence, is not, according to the statement, good enough because outlining the state budget is one of the most important problems Slovakia has to face. The fund's attitude, according to the statement of the Press and Information Department of the Government's Office, proves that the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] and its coalition partners do not have a sincere desire to help Slovakia.

Moravcik Comments

LD1811213494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Nov 94

[Weekly interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by editor Ludmila Bulakova; in Bratislava on 18 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Bulakova] After Wednesday's government session, many issues in the 1995 budget proposed by the government remained open. One of these is the relationship with the National Property Fund—its 18 billion korunas [Sk], to be more precise—which should cover debt servicing. Have you discussed this issue with the National Property Fund representatives? As is well known, during the second National Council session, its board underwent personnel changes unfavorable for the existing government coalition.

[Moravcik] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] together with the Association of Workers in Slovakia [ZRS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] appointed its own people to the National Property Fund. We met last week with the Fund representatives. Our first meeting appeared to be very optimistic. We agreed on the rules of our cooperation and on regular weekly meetings.

We arranged a date for yesterday. The representatives of the Fund, probably after their consultation with their political headquarters, made excuses, claiming they were busy. That is nonsense because we were due to discuss

the budget, and, if somebody in this country prefers other duties to discussing the budget, he does not know what is important and what is not. Regardless of what government will be in charge, it will not get by without cooperation with the National Property Fund.

[Bulakova] Is it therefore possible that the National Property Fund will not agree to your budget proposal. Have you another solution to cover the debt servicing worth Sk18 billion?

[Moravcik] It is not a matter for the National Property Fund to approve or disapprove. We will put the proposal forward. We will incorporate it in the state budget bill. Once the National Council passes the bill, the National Property Fund has to observe this law.

[Bulakova] This year, the National Property Fund could not provide Sk3.5 billion for development programs. Where is the guarantee that next year it will have Ak18 billion to cover debt servicing?

[Moravcik] It does not have to be the whole Sk18 billion. It can be spread by means of the National Property Fund issuing securities and bonds and postponing the payment over the coming years. If privatization goes ahead as envisaged, if all of the projects come about, if privatization carries on as speedily as we started it, there are no grounds for concern about the National Property Fund's fulfilling this duty. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] It is being alleged that the forthcoming budget draft will include amendments to 23 laws and that the amended laws will have a negative impact on our citizens. Vladimir Miskovsky, deputy for your coalition partner, the National Democratic Party [NDS], said this week that this is the reason his party will consider whether to vote in favor of the budget. Taking this into account, do you think there is a realistic chance that the budget draft will be approved by the Slovak parliament?

[Moravcik] These laws need to be amended in order to make it possible for the budget to be put together. I do not think this will bring about a less favorable situation in the social sphere. [passage omitted]

[Bulakova] Are you saying that, in your view, the amendments to the laws should not become an obstacle—let us say the main obstacle—for the approval of the state budget draft?

[Moravcik] They should not. Whether this budget is approved by the National Council depends on the stand of the majority in parliament. Our coalition lacks such support in parliament. [passage omitted]

President Returns Privatization Laws to Parliament

LD1811175394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Michal Kovac returned the law adopted on 4 November amending the law on the conditions of the transfer of state property to other persons to the National Council of the Slovak

Republic today. The president has also returned the law annulling the decision of the Slovak Government on the privatization of state companies, part of companies' assets and securities by direct sales.

HZDS Protests 'Misinformation' About 'Purges'

AU1811132494 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA
in Slovak 16 Nov 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "We Will Not Imitate Them; Statement by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Political Board"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—At its meeting on 14 November 1994, the Political Board of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] expressed concern over the dissemination of misinformation claiming that the HZDS is preparing purges in the state administration. The authors of such fabrications furnish evidence of their own ethics and political judgment. The public remembers very well the recent dismissals of high-ranking ministerial personnel, chairmen of district offices, directors of hospitals, and labor, environmental, and other offices carried out by the present ruling team. The HZDS disagrees with such practices and guarantees that it will require in state administration expertise and responsibility for the work tasks assigned. The HZDS assures state administration staff and the entire Slovak public that it will never betray the legacy of November 1989.

HZDS Criticizes SDL Document on Coalition

LD1811213994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Daily newspapers have published an internal party document of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] produced by Brigita Schmoegnerova, the current deputy prime minister and SDL economic expert. The document contains basic tenets of the analysis of the possible consequences of the SDL's joining a coalition government with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. According to Schmoegnerova, the shared responsibility for social and economic results of the future government would bring about seven main risks. This resulted in a statement, which I quote: Since there is nothing to compensate for these disadvantages, the SDL should not form a close government coalition with the HZDS. End of quote.

This conclusion was a starting point for an interview with Sergej Kozlik, the HZDS deputy chairman and economic expert. The interview was prepared by Jarmila Tosecka.

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] According to the SDL National Council, the decision to end the talks on the formation of a coalition government with the HZDS was based on the fact that the HZDS did not respect the political conditions set by the SDL and on the way in which the HZDS exercises power, which is unacceptable to the SDL. [passage omitted] What are your counterarguments?

[Kozlik] [passage omitted] First of all, this analysis is uncooperative. It does not seek ways to make contact, but it does seek all of the reasons the SDL should not enter into a coalition or closer relations with the HZDS. In my view, this is the essential shortcoming of that document.

Naturally, I have major reservations about the content of the document. The document includes certain general tenets and statements saying that the link to the HZDS brings about the risk of slowing down, revising, or even halting the transformation process and casting doubt over it. This is sheer nonsense. [passage omitted]

At the time this country started to grow economically, we were ousted on the grounds of not being able to control the economic situation. Mrs. Schmoegnerova and the Moravcik government have jumped aboard a moving train and were given a good ride. The interim Moravcik government has not adopted any essential transformation measures. All important measures that have ever been taken were taken by the Meciar government, although their consequences only became visible after that government was recalled. [passage omitted]

[Tosecka] I would also be interested, Mr. Kozlik, in your comment on the fact that a general expectation for some time now has been that there will be a closer coalition link between the Party of the Democratic Left and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which is being perceived, given their program aims, as a more natural link than let us say a link between the SDL and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. [passage omitted]

However, it seems that there are fundamental differences between the programs of the HZDS and the SDL.

[Kozlik] [passage omitted] Yes, in my view there are fundamental program differences due to the fact that the program statement of Joint Choice is a very evasive document. It vaguely hints at certain aims but does not mention any mechanism, any means of reaching them. On the other hand, the HZDS program includes a description of the mechanism of how to reach those aims.

This makes the HZDS rather vulnerable because it has revealed its cards. However, we are not hiding, and we are opposed to neither a discussion nor a subsequent correction of some of our views.

The difference is one of character between the vague document of Joint Choice and the open and in my view very explanatory document of the HZDS.

Putting it like this I do not mean to say, however, that they are not close to each other. [passage omitted] We know their views, and we know that our views and theirs are very close regarding economic concepts, privatization concepts, and the entire orientation in the sphere of economic and social policy.

Thus, the reemerging question is who within the SDL realistically wants to reach an agreement and who does

not. This also reflects the polarization within the SDL, the polarization that is, in my view, so far successfully veiled from our public through the united front presented by the SDL National Council. I do not think the situation is quite as it seems. [end recording]

HZDS Pulls Votes From Rival Coalition

LD1811180394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is gaining more subjects to its camp. Reporter Martin Dorazin has more details on the developments in Bratislava.

[Dorazin] Jozef Klein, chairman of the Farmers' Movement [HP] and its only candidate in parliament, has confirmed that he met HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar yesterday. The result of their meeting is that the HP will support the HZDS in order to calm the critical political situation.

Let us recall that the HP is a member of the left-wing Joint Choice coalition. Individual partners in this coalition have agreed to inform one another about their talks with other parties. Jozef Klein has not done so yet.

According to Klein, one of the reasons for supporting the HZDS is that the current government refuses to solve the crisis in farming. Klein is therefore suggesting food exports to the East.

The second deputy leaning toward Meciar's HZDS is Boris Zala, a deputy for the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia. This party is also a partner in the Joint Choice coalition. During the constituent and second session of parliament, Zala voted for some of the HZDS's proposals, which remain a source of controversy to this day.

By gaining these two votes, the HZDS is inching toward having the support of 76 deputies necessary for the formation of a stable majority government and perhaps even to the dreamlike 90 deputies that would secure a constitutional majority in parliament.

KDH Conditions for Support of HZDS Government

LD1811212194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The leadership of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] held a session today in which it discussed preparations for talks between the KDH and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on the KDH's possible support for a new government, without the KDH's participation in the government.

They outlined two groups of conditions for such support for the new government. The first group concerns the events of the first and the second session of the National Council, and the second group concerns the economic and social policy of the new government.

The KDH leadership charged the movement's delegation to hold talks with the HZDS. The delegation will be headed by KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky. Its members are Deputy Chairmen Ivan Simko and Mikulas Dzurinda.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Role of CEI*LD201111494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[Interview with Lazlo Kovacs, minister of foreign affairs, by Istvan Kulcsar in Turin, Italy, on 19 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Kulcsar] Mr. Minister, the CEI [Central European Initiative] was set up in international circumstances completely different from today's. It is said that this organization has become virtually unnecessary. Is it worth keeping it alive?

[Kovacs] I think it is because a role can be found for the CEI in the new European situation—as was proved at this foreign ministerial meeting—just as the Quadragonale, the quadripartite cooperation body, had its own role at the time. [passage omitted]

Since then, the bipolar world and confrontation have ceased to exist; there are new security risks and there is a danger: If Western Europe is going in the direction of locking itself up, if the EU does not open its doors, then Europe will split into two again—maybe for good—into a rich, prosperous, stable and secure West Europe and into an instable, unsteady East Europe which is fighting against economic and social problems. [passage omitted]

In the 10 countries of the CEI, today's Europe is represented as well as the possibility, the danger of this new division. I think that in this situation the CEI's most important task can be to become a system of cooperation—in political, economic and every other field—which makes this region Euro-conform [preceding phrase in English], that is it makes the region suitable for integration. At the same time it should become a forum which offers an opportunity for cooperation and relations between EU members, potential EU members, and countries which will not be able to join in the foreseeable future. [passage omitted]

Education Official Resigns Over Misinformation*LD1811200694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gyorgy Janosi, political state secretary at the Ministry of Culture and Education, is to leave his post. He submitted his resignation after accepting responsibility for the erroneous briefing given by the prime minister on Wednesday.

When making the letter of resignation public, Culture and Education Minister Gabor Fodor said that while he had been away he had entrusted Gyorgy Janosi with taking care of matters at the ministry. The minister emphasized that his colleagues had not committed a mistake, because the data mentioned in the briefing concerned were not facts, just plans and stances. Gabor Fodor made no comment on the mistake committed by the state secretary, but did say that he had asked to speak with the prime minister this weekend. [passage omitted]

Meets Horn, Stands by Resignation*LD2211109094 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 21 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gyorgy Janosi, political state secretary at the Ministry of Culture and Education, stands by his intention to resign. The state secretary spoke with the prime minister on the telephone, asking him to accept the resignation, but no decision has yet been made. This emerges from a statement by Gyorgy Janosi.

Following the telephone conversation, Prime Minister Gyula Horn said that the subject of discussion with Gyorgy Janosi was a private matter for the time being. The prime minister did not wish to give further information but added that he will inform the press today about what happened.

Leading politicians of the Hungarian Socialist Party are of the view that Gyula Horn should not accept Gyorgy Janosi's resignation. This information was leaked from the founding session of the party's national executive. [passage omitted]

Gabor Kuncze Denies Coalition Cracking*LD1911193294 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Interior Minister] Gabor Kuncze, the prime minister's coalition deputy, has spoken to "Newsreel."

The interior minister does not share the opinion of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] that the coalition is cracking. Gabor Kuncze is not worried about the coalition's immediate future.

[Begin Kuncze recording] There is no cause for any anxiety that in the near future essential problems might arise in the operation of the coalition which might have serious political consequences. [end recording]

At the government session on 17 November the question was raised whether the government will withdraw next year's budget or not. What sparked the debate was the fact that the balance of payments deficit will further increase by about \$500 million by the end of the year. All this is thanks to the growth of imports.

[Begin Kuncze recording] What is happening now shows that the Hungarian economy is struggling with a serious deficit and if we are unable to do something about this deficit then it could have very serious consequences in the medium term. At all events, what is needed is for the state and the government to intervene in these processes with a decisive economic policy. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Peto Views Coalition Politics

AU1811124994 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in
Hungarian 17 Nov 94 pp 1, 9

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto by Attila Zsoldos; place and date not given: "Peto: It Is Too Early To Accuse the Government Program of Softening Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], it is too early to accuse the government's economic program of general softening. In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Peto criticized the government's privatization concept and did not exclude the possibility of the SZDSZ informing the public about its own views. Peto does not agree with Prime Minister Gyula Horn that too much work has been given to the Coalition Coordination Council [KET]; therefore, he does not see any reason to change it.

[Zsoldos] Did the meeting at Nanasi Street, which caused a storm in the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], have any significance for the SZDSZ?

[Peto] I do not think that I need to be evasive: Due to our position in the coalition and because this is an internal matter for the MSZP, we do not believe we should assess this in public.

[Zsoldos] Were you surprised by the events?

[Peto] At most, I could see this meeting to be significant because the opposition often calls the MSZP a Bolshevik party. However, these kinds of groups were not characteristic of the Bolshevik parties of after the 1930's. Therefore, in this area, the opposition's views on the MSZP are not justified.

[Zsoldos] Do you also disagree with the criticism voiced by the opposition that claims that this year is characterized by the softening of the Bekesi program.

[Peto] I would not find it sufficient if only this was said. [sentence as published] It is worth looking at the SZDSZ's program. We held the view that there was very little chance of implementing a new economic policy this year. Corrections are more possible, and the real changes have to be manifested in the decisions to be made in 1995. It is true that the government could have done more than it did. For example, the privatization bill is coming before parliament with a considerable delay and in a much less clear form than would have been desirable. The draft has positive aspects but it also has elements that I hardly find acceptable. The government has indeed made some economic policy decisions that did not completely correspond to the government program but I am more concerned about the direction of some ministries' work. At the same time, it is too early to describe the government's economic policy as being generally softened up. The budget is not soft even if it has some problems.

[Zsoldos] How long will there be that initial confidence that can make it easier for the government coalition to implement the overall economic reforms?

[Peto] One concern is that we have to contend with how long the preparation of the reform of state administration or the welfare reform will last; and the other concern is how these can be prepared in the sense of mass psychology. In my parliamentary speech on 27 September I said that it would have been better for the government to make it clear for society what the consequences of the program's implementation would be. In this sense, verbally, the government program has indeed become softened, even if, unexpectedly, some government members are trying to substitute this with statements referring to very drastic consequences. The initial amount of confidence has not yet vanished. A special political situation has emerged. The electors have turned away from the government parties to a lesser degree than could be expected due to the unavoidable disappointment. And the people who have turned away from the coalition parties have actually turned away from politics rather than switching over to the opposition parties.

[Zsoldos] They could not have done this because the opposition is not yet settled. At the moment, no real alternative exists in opposition to the coalition.

[Peto] This is what I think, too. I agree with those people who say that the opposition parties act as if they have not learned anything from the elections. Some of the electors would feel disappointed even if the government was operating faultlessly. Some of the votes for the current coalition parties stem from the protest against the former government parties. These voters do not necessarily identify with the government's policy. We will have some disappointed people after the first difficulties.

[Zsoldos] According to some press reports, international assessments on the Horn government have deteriorated. Does the SZDSZ agree with this view?

[Peto] I have observed signs of this. For a superficial observer, the differences between the east-central european countries are negligible. People abroad have not been and still are not really able to differentiate between the Hungarian social-liberal coalition and the post-communist governments formed in the neighboring countries. It is a different matter that the investors who are operating in Hungary can see the government's hesitations for themselves. The embassies and the media representatives notice the signs that give the impression that corporate ideas do exist, in spite of the government program. For example, in connection with privatization, the need to actively involve the employees is strongly expressed in the MSZP and even in the government. Foreign investors are not very happy about the fact, either, that a serious opposition exists to privatization for cash even in the government. They can also see that, under the influence of momentary impressions, certain people wish to include the compensation notes in the

process of privatization to a greater extent than necessary. This cannot be concealed from the public.

However, I have to add that a strange situation is emerging. Some of the former government party politicians are outlining much bigger dangers than justified: They are talking about the return of the communists.

[Zsoldos] Abroad?

[Peto] Abroad, too.

[Zsoldos] Can you mention concrete examples?

[Peto] I am aware that ambassadors whose term of office actually expired and who had specifically been appointed on the basis of party affiliations, made statements before their return—not necessarily in public, but they can certainly be verified—that indicated the “return of the communists.” Which, in this form, is not true. This certainly also harms the country’s international image, and results in the further disappearance of the differences between the east-central European countries. At the same time, interestingly, the current opposition parties are trying to push the government in the most frightful direction. On the subject of privatization, certain groups of the Independent Smallholders Party, the Christian Democratic People’s Party, and the Hungarian Democratic Forum identify with the Socialists’ most left-wing ideas, which are identical to those of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions. This indeed gives the impression abroad that the so-called former communists have a real influence in Hungary.

[Zsoldos] Is it in connection with this that the SZDSZ changed tactics a few months after the government had been set up by revealing its separate views to the public, for example, on the media issue?

[Peto] We did not change our tactics. The implementation of the government program is our goal. When the coalition coordination methods are exhausted and we feel that it is impossible to achieve a common stand on certain issues, then we are forced to use publicity. We cannot take every issue to a political breakup.

[Zsoldos] Last week, Horn told NEPSZABADSAG that the work of the Coalition Coordination Council had been oversized. In his view, the original idea was that this body would only be convened if he cannot agree with Coalition Deputy Prime Minister and Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, and he wishes to return to this practice. The KET was convened on 14 November....

[Peto] It was, although Horn was not present due to his other engagement. The coalition partners jointly accepted the operational rules of the coordination council in July. This states that the KET’s task is to coordinate between the coalition parties, to establish consensus, to prevent conflicts in issues that cannot be settled on the basis of the coalition agreement’s other rules, and to settle other disputes. In addition, the KET holds a session at least once a week, preferably at the

same time, to discuss the current issues in order to prevent conflicts. In my view, this is not a matter for debate. A change can be suggested but, in my view, this is not justified because the KET has plenty to do.

[Zsoldos] Has the prime minister officially indicated his intention?

[Peto] If I consider the aforementioned interview as an official indication then yes, he has. However, I do not see this as a formal proposal.

[Zsoldos] Have you mentioned this to Horn?

[Peto] I have not met with him since the interview was published. I explained my position at the KET’s 14 November session and I believe the prime minister has also been informed of this by now.

[Zsoldos] What is the reason that even on issues affecting the government, mostly you appear in public, rather than Kuncze?

[Peto] This is mostly a conscious choice. It would not be fortunate for the differences of views within the government to be emphatically presented to the public. We had made it obvious before the coalition agreement was signed that it is essential to distinguish the parties from the government. This is precisely the reason that I indicated the advantage of the party leader not being a government member when Kuncze was made list leader of the SZDSZ. What has happened seems natural to me. It is a different issue that people got to know Kuncze as an independent politician during the election campaign. Since he became a minister, he has mainly been appearing as interior minister before the public. I do not think that this role is to last forever but being a member of the government definitely entails some kind of self-restraint.

[Zsoldos] Does this mean that your office allows you to be on worse terms with Horn or the MSZP?

[Peto] I am prepared, out of office, to convey the SZDSZ’s criticism of even our own government. When doing this, I still see myself as part of the government coalition. However, my freedom to express my views is greater than that of the government members.

[Zsoldos] This might be the reason that some people feel that the SZDSZ wants to act as an independent intellectual while exercising governmental power at the same time.

[Peto] I do not know what to say to this statement. The SZDSZ, as a party—including its politicians—does not act like a critical intellectual. When it criticizes, it also offers a solution rather than just revealing a phenomenon, or informing the public about its possible negative feelings. For this reason, this is a shallow assumption, lacking any basis.

Official Gives Briefing on Talks With PRC

LD1711192694 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An action plan on the maintenance of the Hungarian defense industry's capability of functioning will be completed soon, Jozsef Hegyhati, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said at a briefing today.

[Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] Answering a question by Duna TV, Jozsef Hegyhati said that since Arpad Goncz's visit to Asia there have been talks going on between our country and China on defense industry issues. They are, however, in an initial stage yet and they are expected to take a long time. He added that it is an important aspect to defense industry purchases that the price of the equipment should be favorable. If foreign and domestic companies offer products of the same quality, by all means the domestic ones will receive orders.

Journalist Attacked at POFOSZ Congress

LD2011115894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A journalist is under treatment for a breast-bone fracture. He was beaten up by organizers at the POFOSZ [Association of Political Prisoners] congress yesterday. Tamas Szevenyei Kis was to report to Canadian and American Hungarian newspapers on the event, but the organizers did not let him in, VASARNAPI HIREK writes.

POFOSZ Chairman Jenoe Fonay also told journalists that Szevenyei had no business at all to be there. However, he left the building with four men, who were wearing congress organizers' badges, and attacked him on the street. Tamas Szevenyei Kis is on the line, member of the Association of Hungarian Journalists in America.

[Begin Szevenyei recording] The leaders of the military section of the POFOSZ stopped me at the door. They

told me that on the basis of a list I was not allowed to enter the scene of the congress. After this Jenoe Fonay came up to me, then several other POFOSZ leaders. Andras Galszecs and former Prime Minister Peter Boross also appeared. He asked me to shake hands and not to nurture bitterness when I leave the scene. Boross guaranteed I would be allowed to enter the congress during the afternoon. I left the building. Five people followed me. They caught up with me after 150 meters. They attacked my wife and me. A person, Mrs. Dezsoe Szekely, who called herself a police captain, told me to unpack my suitcase. They particularly wanted to see the film roll in my camera. They knocked me down and a number of people jumped on me. There were about five of them. They kicked me about. (Otto Has), a member of the 56-ers Association jumped on my chest with his knees from one meter. The x-ray examination showed that my breast-bone was broken. They emptied my pockets. They took away all my notes and identity cards. I only could—the camera. [sentence as heard] They took away everything from my wife: The tapes from her bags, her mini tape recorder. Then they returned to the building of the POFOSZ Congress, to the BM [Ministry of Interior] Club. [end recording]

POFOSZ Explains Attack

LD2111002894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The journalist of the magazine KACSA did not suffer a fracture of the breast bone. According to a spokesman of POFOSZ [Association of Political Prisoners], the reason why journalist Tamas Szevenyei Kis was beaten up yesterday was because his partner was distributing pamphlets insulting to the chairman of POFOSZ outside the building while the congress was in session. The spokesman also told Hungarian Radio's "Evening Chronicle" that when they tried to move them on, the journalist made abusive statements, and that was when one of the participants in the event—who, incidentally, is not a member of the POFOSZ—took revenge on the journalist. And Hungarian TV's "Newsreel" has reported that the journalist did not suffer a fracture of the breast bone.

Polish UN Troops Cut Off Near Bihac*LD1911195194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish
1830 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the course of the Serbian shelling of Bihac, Bosnia, three Polish outposts of the UN forces were cut off. Our soldiers located in the part of Croatia occupied by the Serbs, on the border with Bosnia, are deprived of food supplies and also of contact with the command of the Polish battalion. [passage omitted]

[Colonel Zdzislaw Goral, commander of the Polish battalion in Croatia] Our outposts are under threat. In the south and thus in the vicinity of Bihac, we currently have four outposts cut off. This is because we have no access to them. The Serbs are not allowing us to enter this area. They are not allowing us to supply these soldiers of ours with food, water, and fuel. These boys are hiding in shelters. On the other hand, in the vicinity of Velika Kladusa, where there is to be found the center of one of our outposts, a so-called company position, two mortar grenades apparently landed yesterday. Fortunately, none of the soldiers was outside at the time so there were no consequences. [passage omitted]

Action Urged Over UN Soldiers in Krajina*LD2111094894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in
Polish 0900 GMT 21 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] General Stanislaw Wozniak, head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the National Defense Ministry [MON], has asked the Foreign Ministry [MSZ] to intervene at the UN Secretariat in New York in order to relieve the four Polish Army posts in Krajina. These posts have been cut off from the world as a result of the Serb shelling of Bihac. The Polish soldiers in the UN peacekeeping forces, who are deployed in the Serb-occupied parts of Croatia on the border with Bosnia, have been deprived of supplies of food and fuel.

This morning, Colonel Zdzislaw Goral, commander of the Polish battalion of the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia, reported that the Krajina authorities have given the four Polish posts cut off near the border with Bosnia a 14-day supply of food, water, and fuel.

Walesa Comments on Pawlak, Relations With Russia*WS2111124494 Warsaw TVP Television Second
Program Network in Polish 1900 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Barbara Czajkowska in the TVP Second Program studios in Warsaw; from the "Special Line" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Czajkowska] You have often voiced your explicitly negative evaluation of the current situation in our country. The main culprits are, obviously, sought at the highest levels of authority. You have made many—very many—

critical comments about the prime minister. However, you personally, Mr. President, created this politician. Have you made a mistake?

[Walesa] No, I have not made a mistake. I suggested him under different conditions, much earlier. I do not disapprove of everything this government is doing, nor do I criticize the prime minister for everything he does. Still, I think there are not enough reformers in the current government, that reforms are too slow, and that certain procedures should be accelerated. We are wasting time, and I am critical because we are wasting a great opportunity. If there was a more reform-orientated system in the government, this prime minister could be capable of achieving much more. Only in this sense am I critical. [passage omitted]

[Czajkowska] I have to ask you about international policy, I mean the state of Polish-Russian relations, which have recently shocked us, and your evaluation in light of recent events. Let us recall: The suspension of Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's visit and the incident provoked by the Russian consul in Krakow [who reportedly accused Jozef Pilsudski of murdering 60,000 Red Army soldiers in 1920]. How do you evaluate the current state of Polish-Russian relations?

[Walesa] These are two different issues.

[Czajkowska] But they make up a whole.

[Walesa] Of course, in any respectable country, such a statement made by a consul would be unimaginable. I am surprised he is still a consul. This has to be resolved; one cannot act in this way. As far as the incident is involved, this is a different issue. One must remember that, when state authorities intervene, one will say, all right, but three Poles have been murdered. Murder or a robbery is different from intervention by, let us say, state forces. These are two separate issues, which should be treated separately.

[Czajkowska] But what is your evaluation of Polish-Russian relations in this....

[Walesa, interrupting] Russia has many internal problems. Russia is the heir to a huge empire. It is a huge vehicle moving backwards, and it must do many things for internal reasons. Still, it is hardly surprising that it...

[Czajkowska, interrupting] Is trying to heal its complexes?

[Walesa] This is a very complicated problem. Therefore, we must be very reasonable and yet decisive. We must preserve Poland's honor. We cannot allow any meddling. As long as I am president, no one will meddle. Just as they are trying to play out certain things, we must also play out certain things. We are able to win even with that wise Russian policy.

[Czajkowska] It was not without reason that I asked you about the two incidents and your evaluation of current Polish-Russian relations because they are beginning to

make up for one disturbing whole. When the U.S. Congress approved the Brown amendment, almost immediately we read in a statement made by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that not accepting new members in NATO would serve European security better than a hasty and rash expansion of that organization. The meaning of that statement is clear; it leaves no room for doubt.

[Walesa] Our response should be that, whatever Russia does, it must ask Poland. As long as I am president, I will not ask Russia for anything. We are independent, and we will not let even Russia interfere in our country. This is obvious to me. And, if they keep trying, let them try. We must answer in the same way. If Russia signs contracts with China or any other country, we must immediately say that we have our doubts. If they are trying to organize the military within the former Soviet Union, we must immediately answer in the same way, that such a move endangers Poland, that this is a nearby foreign state, and we must try to find other solutions. We do not do that now because we still have an inferiority complex when it comes to Russia. We have had enough of that complex towards Russia. Russia is a superpower, and we are not poking fun, we are not provoking, but, at the same time, Polish pride will be Polish pride. Poland has become independent, and nobody will organize us or choose our partners for us. [passage omitted]

Walesa: No Meddling by Russia in Internal Affairs

LD2011223794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2158 GMT
20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 20 Nov—Commenting on a remark made in the "Special Line" television program that today about 70 percent of the public do not accept his methods of governing the country, the president said that it has been forgotten that he has not been given any chance to implement anything. "I can be brought to account, but I want to be given the conditions and possibilities for action." [passage omitted]

Asked for his opinion on relations with Russia after recent incidents, the president said that "Russia has a vast number of internal problems" and compared that country to "a vehicle that is going backwards." He warned that nobody will meddle in Poland's affairs as long as he remains president. "I will not allow Russia to interfere in our affairs. As long as I am president, I will not ask Russia about anything (the issue was, among other things, the matter of Russia's protest against Poland's membership in NATO)." [passage omitted]

Walesa Critical of Aspects of Political Life

LD2011210394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2008 GMT
20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—According to President Lech Walesa, next year's budget will be "a

budget of stagnation that does not take advantage of opportunities open to Poland."

In an hour-long television program "Special Line," broadcast on Polish TV's Second Program on Sunday, the president said that, in his opinion, the budget defines directions that can bring visible results "in about a hundred years," while, according to him, a success would be possible in 10 years' time.

Walesa, who commented on remarks and opinions voiced earlier by television viewers, said, among other things, that "there are too few reformers" among the present ruling circles and that "we are not taking advantage of the opportunities." According to the president, if the balance of power were different, the present prime minister would be able to achieve more.

The president said that he will not allow the ruling coalition to "politicize the Army" and "play a game to gain control of the Army."

Walesa repeated his earlier statements about the poor effectiveness in the sphere of implementing the reforms. He said that, in a transition period, a "more efficient system is needed—that is, a presidential system" and that such a system "would not constitute a dictatorship at all."

According to the president, very important issues in a transition period that require effective action are security (combating fraud) and economic issues.

After the first 30 minutes of the program, the majority of people who called the studio were critical of the president's statements.

Prime Minister Departs on 3-Day Visit to UAE

LD1911091394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak left this morning for an official three-day visit to the United Arab Emirates. The aim of the visit is to strengthen the Polish presence in the Gulf. Poland is the largest partner in Central Europe for the Emirates. However, businessmen with huge fortunes invest mostly in West Europe. Turnover between our countries is estimated by the Arab side at \$100 million. The Emirates import goods worth \$18 billion, said Roman Czyzycki, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [passage omitted]

Visit Previewed

LD1811202794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1744 GMT
18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Nov—The main purpose of an official three-day visit by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak to the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which begins on 19 November, is to strengthen the Polish presence in the geostrategically and economically important Persian Gulf region.

At a press conference on 18 November at the Government Press Office, Roman Czyzycki, deputy director of the Asia Department, emphasized that, although Poland is already present in the Persian Gulf, among other things through the involvement of Polish companies and its participation in the anti-Iraqi coalition, "this presence was too weak for the strategic importance of the region," which is "one of the political, economic, and financial centers of the world."

Tadeusz Lisek, director of the Department for Economic Cooperation with Asia at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation [MWGzG], described the UAE as an interesting, financially secure, open, and liberalized market, although he emphasized that the progressing integration of the Arab states could create difficulties in accessing that market. He announced that, during the visit, the Polish side will attempt to begin negotiations on a trade agreement between the two states applicable in a potentially problematic situation.

Lisek emphasized that the trade turnover between Poland and the UAE is estimated by the Arab side at \$100 million, when the UAE annually imports goods worth \$18 billion and exports \$23 billion. The MWGzG representative emphasized that the market is attractive to Poland because of opportunities to conclude contracts for services, including specialized construction and assembly work. Through the Emirates, Polish goods can reach financially less secure markets—for instance, Iran, Pakistan, and India.

Polish exports to the UAE include metals, steel, cables, engines, and machinery. Poland does not import oil from there because of its high sulphur content, which precludes its processing at Polish refineries. About 600 Polish specialists in various areas are currently on personal contracts in the Emirates.

Lisek emphasized that Poland is the UAE's most important partner in East-Central Europe, which is shown by its invitation to the World Expo '96 as the only state from the region.

International agreements on cooperation in transport and aviation as well as in the fields of information, culture, and science will be signed during the visit.

The prime minister will meet the UAE deputy prime minister, the heir to the throne and the minister of finance and industry. Czyzycki emphasized that the prime minister will not be meeting with the UAE president or the prime minister, but, he explained, such was the custom of that state and this did not lessen the status of the visit. The Foreign Ministry representative emphasized that these people hold titular offices and have no influence over the state's economy or politics. [as received]

Pawlak will be accompanied on his visit by Construction Minister Barbara Blida, Transport Minister Boguslaw Liberadzki, Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister

Leslaw Podkanski, Agriculture Minister Andrzej Smietanko, and a group of 25 Polish businessmen.

Pawlak Defends Decision To Dismiss Kolodziejczyk

LD1811214734 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Sejm, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has presented to the deputies a report on reasons for Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk's dismissal.

[Correspondent Makara] The main reasons for Minister Kolodziejczyk's dismissal were the loss of trust in him by the supreme commander of the Armed Forces—that is, the president—as well as the conflict with the military directorate of the Ministry of Defense. Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak also gave examples of the former minister's failure to implement instructions issued by the National Defense Committee. The head of the government admitted that the speed with which he made that decision was influenced by the approaching Independence Day, during which ambiguous situations involving the highest state authorities could have arisen.

Speaking about the need to appoint a new head of the Defense Ministry, the prime minister said that the Small Constitution's clause, which provides that the candidate has to have the agreement of the president, required legal interpretation. The prime minister's decision to dismiss Minister Kolodziejczyk was obviously supported by deputies from the Polish Peasant Party parliamentary floor group. On the other hand, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, speaking on behalf of the Democratic Left Alliance parliamentary floor group, criticized the prime minister and described the dismissal of the minister of defense as politically and substantively unwarranted.

Artur Makara reporting from the Sejm building.

Walesa Candidate for MON Unacceptable to SLD

WS1811150294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by knysz, krzem, pw, wz: "How To Take MON"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A new conflict is in the air between the Belweder and the Coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], this time about the post of civilian head of the Ministry of National Defense [MON].*

The SLD does not approve of the presidential candidate, Zbigniew Okonski. The party says that, according to the Constitution, the president does not have the right to appoint candidates for ministers. The PSL allegedly supported this view at a recent meeting of coalition deputies.

Waldemar Pawlak said yesterday that Okonski was not an official candidate. Belweder Spokesman Leszek Spalinski, however, claims that the president personally presented the candidacy to the prime minister on Monday, a fact confirmed by the President's Press Office.

Danuta Waniek, deputy minister of defense and an SLD member, does not approve of Okonski. "I do not like the way Minister Kolodziejczyk was dismissed or the way his successor is being appointed. I was outraged by a statement made by Okonski, that we have to forget the 'Drawsko affair.' Democratic public opinion must learn what had happened there. Perhaps the prosecutor general should clarify the issue by instituting investigation proceedings."

According to Danuta Waniek, the prime minister should present the Sejm with valid arguments for dismissing Kolodziejczyk before a new candidate is considered.

Candidate Szmajdzinski

"We may view Mister Okonski, at most, as one of the candidates," another SLD politician told us yesterday. He claims that the SLD will put up its own candidate, possibly Jerzy Szmajdzinski, secretary general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic and head of the Sejm Defense Committee.

Szmajdzinski, however, is unacceptable to both Lech Walesa and the head of the General Staff because the committee took Minister Kolodziejczyk's side in the "Drawsko affair."

The PSL, on the other hand, might accept Szmajdzinski. One of the peasant leaders says that it would be good to draw politicians critical of the prime minister and questioning the coalition into the government. Szmajdzinski meets the requirements. "If he took a job in the government, perhaps he would stop making trouble," our interlocutor tells us.

According to Procedure

SLD head Aleksander Kwasniewski said yesterday that the coalitionists should first agree on one candidate and only then present him to the president. "Complying with the procedure, the prime minister has proved that he is treating our coalition seriously."

It is unofficially known that the SLD will demand that the prime minister appoint Szmajdzinski as minister, provided Walesa agrees, or as interim head of the ministry, if the president disagrees. Today the coalition may put up its own candidate. Szmajdzinski himself declared yesterday that he has not been nominated yet. Danuta Waniek, standing nearby, added: "I think Jurek [diminutive for Jerzy] is a very good candidate."

Walesa Decides

The Belweder has a different scenario for appointing the head of MON. Minister Lech Falandysz stated yesterday

that one year ago the coalition itself created the precedent that candidates for heads of the so-called presidential ministries are appointed by Walesa. "I understand that back then the coalition was in a hurry to establish a government, but it was a reasonable interpretation of the Small Constitution," says Falandysz.

He adds that in the end the president approves the new minister, according to a provision of the Small Constitution. "Every ministerial candidate must be approved by the president, especially ministerial candidates in a Belweder ministry."

Falandysz recalls the case of Dariusz Rosati: The president did not approve the SLD candidate for minister of finance, and the coalition had to come up with a new name.

If Walesa does not accept the coalition's proposal, the Ministry of Defense may be run by an interim head (for example, Szmajdzinski), nominated by the president. "That would be fine with us," one SLD politician says.

Wachowski on Candidates for Defense Minister

LD1911213894 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish
2000 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the view of Mieczyslaw Wachowski, state minister in the presidential chancellery, none of the candidates for the post of defense minister who are members of one of the political parties will be able to assure the apolitical nature of the Army.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Jerzy Wiatr, and even Romuald Szeremietiew—these are the candidates for defense minister being most frequently named in the lobbies of the Sejm.

[Begin Wachowski recording] "If we are to understand that the Defense Ministry is to be apolitical, a civilian ministry led by a civilian minister, then these names cannot enter into play by virtue of their party membership. This is, as it were, erroneous thinking in the structures we wish to create in our state, with subsequent entry into NATO [sentence as heard]. [end recording]

Minister Wachowski confirmed that Wojciech Okonski is the official candidate of the president for the post of defense minister.

[Begin Wachowski recording] In the course of the Monday meeting between the prime minister and the president, a proposal was made by the president of Mr. Zbigniew Wojciech Okonski for the post of head of the Defense Ministry. Why the prime minister did not hear this is difficult to say. Such a name was spoken. [end recording]

We asked Minister Wachowski when the president would appoint a defense minister.

[Begin Wachowski recording] This depends on the prime minister. We have a similar situation as regards the

filling of the post of ambassador to the Vatican. Minister Olechowski has put forward a candidate. Up until now, the prime minister has, as it were, been holding this candidature back. Let us recall for ourselves how long the nomination of the head of the militia...[corrects himself]...police took. Everything is in the hands of the prime minister, who presents a resolution, and the president appoints someone to this post. We are waiting for the prime minister's resolution. [end recording]

Aleksander Kwasniewski has reported that the coalition will make a decision on its candidate for defense minister on Tuesday, after the return of the prime minister from the Arab Emirates. [passage omitted]

SLD's Szmajdzinski Denies Candidacy for Defense

LD1811130694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Jerzy Szmajdzinski has denied reports by some Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] deputies that he is a candidate for the post of national defense minister. In a conversation with a Polish radio reporter, Szmajdzinski stressed that he is holding high posts in the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic and the SLD and implied that he is not interested in the job of defense minister.

We have unofficially learned from people close to the prime minister that Waldemar Pawlak is under pressure from the Polish Peasant Party for his party to also put forward candidates for defense minister.

SDRP: No Candidate for Defense Minister

LD2011140094 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], has said that up to now the party has not put forward any candidate for minister of defense, thus denying press reports of Jerzy Wiatr's candidacy for the post.

Speaking during the SDRP'S Warsaw Convention, Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the year of government by the Peasant-left coalition had shown that the threats to Poland's young democracy came not from the forces of the government coalition but from those that had been in power since 1990.

In Kwasniewski's opinion, there is no doubt that the formation of a majority Left-Peasant government in 1993 was the right move, despite many reservations concerning the government's style of action.

Acknowledging the cooperation between the Democratic Left Alliance and the Freedom Union [UW] in the Warsaw self-government to be an example of the transition from past to future in Polish public life, Aleksander Kwasniewski said that the chance was there for a united

front made up of the SLD [Left Democratic Union], the UW, the Union of Labor [UP], and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] on the issue of Poland's future constitution.

More Biographies of New Generals Published

WS2111073094 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 16 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "(apw)": "Newly Nominated Generals of the Polish Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brigadier General Jozef Flis is 45 years old. He was born in Majdan, Lublin Voivodship. He attended high school in Bydgoszcz. He graduated from the Higher Officers School of Mechanized Troops in 1971. Afterward, for six years he commanded a platoon, a company, and a battalion in the 41st Mechanized Regiment in Szczecin. Between 1977 and 1980, he studied at the Frunze Military Academy in the Soviet Union; after graduating from the academy he was chief of staff and then commander of the 5th Mechanized Regiment in Szczecin. In 1984 he assumed the post of commander of the 8th Mechanized Division in Koszalin, and two years later he became commander of the 15th Mechanized Division in Olsztyn, from where in 1988 he was sent to the Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

In 1990, he was appointed deputy chief of the Operational Board and, after the reorganization of the General Staff, to the post of deputy chief of the Operational-Strategic Board.

Gen. Flis is a talented officer who has proved his abilities. The numerous skills and wide experience he acquired while commanding line units were successfully used by the general. He made his personal contribution to the preparation of central-level documents that regulated the activities and training of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic.

In August of this year, the national defense minister appointed him commandant of the Stefan Czarniecki Higher Officers School in Poznan.

Jozef Flis is married. His wife, Bozena, who is an economist, is not working right now. The Flises have two children: Pawel is a high-school student, and Agnieszka is an eighth-grade student in elementary school.

Gen. Flis is interested in history.

Brigadier General Zbigniew Glowienka. If he had been born three weeks later, he would now be the youngest Polish general. He is 43 years old. He was born in Pisarzowice, Ostrzeszow powiat [small administrative unit]. He finished high school there in 1968.

He graduated from the Higher Officers' School of Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw in 1973. He started his professional service in landing units. He commanded a platoon and a company in the 7th Landing Division. After graduating from the Academy of the General Staff

of the Polish Army in 1980, he returned to the "line" to become chief of staff of the 35th Landing Regiment. Four years later, he was appointed commander of the 4th Landing Regiment.

He became chief of staff of the 8th Mechanized Division in Koszalin in 1986, and in 1988 he started commanding the 7th Brigade of Coastal Defense. When he was commander of that brigade, he received the highest grade in the entire district during the control carried out by the Armed Forces Inspectorate.

He is demanding, and he knows exactly what he demands from himself and his subordinates. In 1992, after graduating from the Postgraduate Operational-Strategic Studies in the Academy of National Defense, he assumed the post of commander of the 8th Mechanized Division and, after reorganization, the post of commander of the 9th Division of Coastal Defense.

While in that post, which he still holds, he has confirmed his merits of an officer who is thoroughly educated, resourceful, and brave in action. He worked out effective forms of cooperation with the Navy as far as the tasks of antilanding coastal defense is concerned. He is open to innovations and ideas that would perfect the functioning of the Army. He proposes many solutions that prove themselves in new structures and new conditions.

Zbigniew Glowienka is married. His wife, Barbara, is a trade specialist.

The general is interested in history and hunting. The principle that he has adhered to all his life is the following: "The most important thing is the awareness of the import of the responsibilities and tasks performed in the past and at present."

Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Karus is 55 years old. He was born in the Podhale region in Wola Luzanska. He graduated from high school in 1956 in Swiecie and from the Officers School of Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw in 1962. For six years afterward, he served in various command-level posts in the units of the 6th Air-Landing Division.

From 1968 to 1971, he studied at the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army, and, after graduating, he was appointed to the post of commander of the 1st Attack Battalion. Two years later he became head of the division reconnaissance section.

Between 1974 and 1976, he was a member of the UN International Commission for Control and Supervision in Vietnam. When he returned to Poland, for four years he commanded the 16th Air-Landing Battalion in Krakow.

Between 1980 and 1991, he was the deputy commandant and acting commandant of the Higher Officers School of Chemical Troops.

In September 1991, he was nominated as head of the Section of Organization and Recruitment of the Warsaw

Military District. In 1992, he headed the Organizational Group of the Krakow Military District [KOW]. After the military district was established, he was entrusted with the duties of deputy chief to the KOW commander—he became chief of Territorial Defense.

Since September of this year, he has been a student of postgraduate operational-strategic studies at the Academy of National Defense.

He is married. He has two grown children: Anita is a dental hygienist and Grzegorz a mechanical technician.

The general is interested in sports: skiing, tennis, and football. He is a member of the Presidium of the Board of the Polish Football Union and deputy president of the WKS Wawel Sports Club.

Trade Minister Interviewed on State Policies

WS2111073594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Strona Rzadowa supplement) in Polish 18 Nov 94 p 4

[Interview with Marek Pol, Polish minister of industry and trade, by Maria Nowak; place and date not given: "The Crisis is Over"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Nowak] For the average Pole, statements such as "We are developing instruments, mechanisms, and so forth" are empty slogans. Could you be more specific?

[Pol] Let me give an example. The involvement of the current government in supporting investment is expressed by the introduction of investment reliefs. Enterprises are entitled to deduct investment costs from their income tax. Moreover, the government has guaranteed approximately \$1 billion for industrial investment credits. Nearly \$1 billion was allocated to the Corporation of Export Credit Security to secure exports.

You must also remember about the financial restructuring of enterprises. Because of conciliatory proceedings, debts have been partly written off, some liabilities are to be partly paid in installments, and some were transformed into shares. More than 300 companies benefited. We have to give credit to the previous government for introducing bank agreements in the form of simplified composition proceedings, but they have truly flourished over the past year. Moreover, enterprises implementing Polish scientific and technological solutions are entitled to relief. In this way, we are trying to promote technological advancement and innovation.

We are also making use of instruments that the customs and quota policies give us—for instance, in restructuring particular branches of industry. In the immediate future, the Council of Ministers is to devote a session to the restructuring of the liquid-fuel industry. To implement restructuring, we will have to apply available protective measures. We have also set down protective provisions for restructuring the motor industry. [passage omitted]

[Nowak] Can we say that Polish industry has already bottomed out?

[Pol] Definitely yes. You must remember that the bottom was quite deep, and a huge effort still remains to be made if we want to reach the surface. Approximately 20 percent of enterprises are now functioning quite freely on both the domestic and the foreign market. They are capable of dealing with strong competition not only in Europe but also worldwide.

It is very significant that the recession was clearly overcome last year. Sold production grew by 6 percent, and the profit rate was 3.8 percent, although earning capacity was still below zero. More than half of the enterprises made gross profits.

[Nowak] The majority of society claims that an artificial maintaining of unprofitable state enterprises hinders the market economy. Nothing boosts effectiveness as effectively as a cold shower in the form of bankruptcy. How many enterprises have filed for bankruptcy so far?

[Pol] Last year between 100 and 200 companies filed bankruptcy claims.

[Nowak] What does the government intend to do with ineffective, overgrown branches—the mining and steel industries? The delay of their restructuring raises fears, especially as a longing for holdings that tend to be monopolistic is becoming more visible. Moreover, under such conditions, bad companies function at the expense of good ones.

[Pol] There is no method for juggling resources from one enterprise to another. That is wrong. If, however, we were to compare the amount of holdings in our country with countries having a highly developed market economy, we would find that we were very far behind. Please notice that our steelworks and coal mines are very small compared to the huge capital groups operating abroad.

If one calls on us to open our borders and liberalize the economy, which I strongly advocate, simultaneously opposing huge economic groups in branches where only such groups operate, they are either unintentionally or purposefully aiming at destroying entire sectors of Polish industry. How can a Polish company with capital of, let us say, \$100 million compete with a foreign company with \$10 billion in capital? This would be like placing a kindergarten child in the ring to fight a professional heavyweight boxer. The results would be tragic.

I also wish to protest against the widespread belief that the pace of restructuring the industrial branches you mentioned is too slow. On the contrary, we may already see positive effects of these processes—for instance, in coal mining. Two months ago, for the first time in four years, our coal industry began making a profit. I wish to stress that our government is one of the few in the world that does not subsidize the mining industry.

[Nowak] What about the steel industry?

[Pol] It has matched the level of steel production to comply with agreements we have concluded with the European Union. The majority of steelworks are currently carrying out investments that will allow for decreased energy consumption in the production process, reduced costs, enhanced quality, and protection of the environment. This does not mean that restructuring projects are ideally implemented. The managers of steelworks are definitely heading in the right direction. [passage omitted]

[Nowak] The government has recently been speaking about the need for carrying out mass commercialization of enterprises. Opponents claim that this implies an intensification of direct supervision on the part of administration over state property, and that it is an bad omen for the prospects of privatization. They also give other arguments—for instance, pertaining to the financial results of joint-stock companies of the State Treasury, which did not outpace state companies. Do you share this view?

[Pol] I think the term “commercialization” is abused. Both its supporters and its opponents smoothly formulate the theory that, in a market economy, all companies, regardless of ownership structure, should fall under the same law. Let us remember that, beginning next year, the government is to eliminate the remaining differences, such as in taxes and the system of financing medical benefits. There are thus no grounds for applying separate legislation for selected state enterprises and remaining subjects competing on the same market. Everyone should observe one law—the Commercial Code. The change to the legal foundation is simply referred to as commercialization and has stirred strong emotions. This change, of course, must be paired with ensuring that employees have a right to sit on supervisory boards and a right to part of the company shares free of charge.

Opponents of joint-stock companies of the State Treasury, of one law obligatory for all subjects, do not have any ingenious ideas as to what to do with the state enterprises and the outdated state enterprise bill. Of course, you may say these 5,000 companies have to be privatized. Still, even with the utmost determination and efficiency, the process will take several years.

The issues of financial results, efficiency of company management, and so forth are a separate problem. I am convinced, however, that it is easier for a commercial code company than for a state enterprise in the old shape to be successful.

[Nowak] Some claim that commercialization will replace privatization, which would not be good for the economy.

[Pol] Why? After all, when the idea of privatization was born, transforming enterprises into joint-stock companies of the State Treasury was its basic assumption. It was a claim made by the very same experts who currently

most strongly criticize this solution. I wish to assure you that the so-called commercialization will neither hinder nor replace privatization. If it did, we would not have approved a budget bill providing for such huge annual revenues from privatization, which previous governments were unable to generate over two or sometimes even three years.

Poll Shows Growing Pessimism Over Reform Course

WS2111124894 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "knysz": "Pessimism Galore"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Public spirits have fallen once again, according to a recent public opinion poll. Intellectuals are especially disappointed.

Managers, private businessmen, and white-collar workers are groups that, over the past month, have become increasingly critical of what is happening in Poland.

Still, half of all poll respondents with higher education (45 percent) claim that "things in our country are going in the right direction." This view is shared by only one in 10 farmers (12 percent) and nearly the same number of blue-collar workers (11 percent).

Intellectuals and managers are particularly critical of our political situation: Nearly two-thirds say that the political situation in Poland is bad. This opinion is shared by every third blue-collar worker and 45 percent of farmers.

Iliescu Urges 'Unrestrained' Ties to Moldova*AU1811150594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 94*

["Exclusive" interview with President Ion Iliescu by Mircea Motrici in Suceava on 18 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Motrici] Mr. President, on behalf of Radio Bucharest, as we are here in the old borough of Suceava, and as I was a special correspondent to Chisinau, I would like to ask you: Do you not think that our relations with the Republic of Moldova should be reactivated? I am asking this because a decline of the diplomatic contacts on both sides is being felt lately.

[Iliescu] Not the diplomatic ones, but rather the political ones. And on the economic and other planes. [sentence indistinct] We are closely watching and have found with certain concern and sadness that the climate of relations between us has deteriorated to a certain extent. It does not depend on us whether this will be remedied. We will do everything we can to create a natural, normal climate for the relations between the two states, both of them Romanian states. Because regardless of how we call ourselves—Moldovans, Bukovineans, Transylvanians, or the inhabitants of Maramures, Banat, Muntenia, or Oltenia—we are still Romanians and all of us are descendants of ancient Rome. We have the same chronicle writers, we share our history, culture, and language, and our ancestors are identical. All of us speak of Eminescu as the national poet. For whom? The Romanians, of course! Eminescu never considered himself as the poet of the Bukovineans or the Moldovans. He spoke about the national conscience of the Romanians and used to refer to Romanian culture and Romanian language. He created the basis and did the most for the assertion of the Romanian literary language. Thus, our roots and our spiritual, mental, intellectual, and cultural structures are identical, which is understandable.

However, history has placed us in not too favorable circumstances, it has been quite harsh to us. Over the centuries various parts of the country have lived under occupation, under foreign rule. In such circumstances a second Romanian state has emerged. I am sorry that certain people do not like using that term, but it is the truth.

However, if we reassert such things or we condemn certain historical acts by which entire territories were placed under foreign rule, it does not mean that today we are claiming the reunification of all Romanian territories. Nevertheless, taking historical reality into consideration is, in my opinion, a natural thing. By this we intend to.... And I feel sorry that certain people attribute things to us that we have never said. Condemning things from the past, in our history, and pointing out certain historical realities is not tantamount to reclaiming territories for today's Romania. This does not mean that states that have been integrated within other states should be

returned to Romania or that the Republic of Moldova should unite tomorrow with Romania. We have never raised such issues.

We are realistic. In politics issues can only be approached with realism. And we cannot ignore a historical reality on the European plane, namely the state frontiers that have been consecrated by international documents after World War II. That is a reality that we also take into consideration.

However, we believe that it lies in our own interest, that brotherly states, and not just the neighboring states... We wish to establish good neighborliness and cooperation relations with all our neighboring states. We are all living through difficult processes and it lies in our joint interest to have further cooperation among us, above all, here, in this region, among countries traversing a similarly difficult period. I believe that we have more in common with Moldova than we do with Bulgaria, Hungary, or Ukraine.

Therefore we ought to further such natural ties among brothers, who have been separated by history but now again have the possibility to freely communicate among them. Formerly it used to be impossible to hold direct talks with Chisinau. There even used to be brothers or parents and children living on the two banks [of the Prut River] who could not get in touch with each other. We saluted the independence of the Republic of Moldova as a crucial moment that would unblock such natural relations among brothers. And I believe that also among our two states, which are sister states, similar unrestrained relations ought to be established to the benefit of all.

Hungary's Keleti Arrives, Confers With Tinca*AU1811153794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's way to NATO passes through Budapest, but, at the same time, Hungary's way to NATO passes through Bucharest, and therefore it lies in the interest of our countries, as well as the other ones in the European region, to belong to that alliance—declared Romanian Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca after the conclusion of his talks with his Hungarian counterpart, Mr. Gyorgy Keleti, who today began an official visit to our country.

Mr. Tinca said that their talks included an exchange of opinions on the reform processes the two armed forces are currently undergoing, the current stage of the Romanian-Hungarian military relations, and ways to further those relations in the future.

Talking about their cooperation within the Partnership for Peace, the Romanian defense minister asserted that this will be lent a more concrete character by our country's participation in various military exercises which are to take place next year both in Romania and in Hungary.

In turn the Hungarian defense minister declared that his country, which a few days ago signed the individual partnership program, will substantially reduce its military personnel. The Hungarian guest also referred to several concrete cooperation actions with the participation of specialized units of our armed forces, which are to take place on dates and under circumstances that are to be established later on. However, Mr. Keleti added, those actions will have to be sanctioned by the parliaments of our countries, our correspondent Catalina Cretu reports.

Meets With Ministers

AU1911163694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received Mr. Gyorgy Keleti, minister of defense of the Republic of Hungary, at Victoria Palace tonight. According to a communique released by the office of the government's spokesman, the meeting was attended by Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense, and Mr. Erno Rudas, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary in Bucharest.

Assessing the cooperation between the two armies as an important component of the development of Romanian-Hungarian ties, Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu emphasized the need to implement fully the ambitious program of cooperation between the two ministries of defense, in the context of Euro-Atlantic integration. In his turn, Mr. Gyorgy Keleti said that, to the extent that the military bodies of the two countries will prove themselves capable of fruitful cooperation, this reality will have a positive impact on regional stability and security.

Mr. Gyorgy Keleti also met today with Mr. Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs. In a statement made to our radio station at the end of the meeting, Mr. Teodor Melescanu said that the talk focused mainly on the significance and prospects of the bilateral relations, at a time when both countries are concerned with speedy integration into the European structures. We also conducted a concrete discussion on cooperation in the military sphere and on the significance attached by the two countries to their admission to NATO and the Western European Union.

Ethnic Problems Discussed

LD2011140894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest on Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti's program last night and today's closing events of his visit.

[Bogdan] Since the Hungarian population in the Szeklerland has complained many times against the Army's expansion, the so-called militarization of the area, Gyorgy Keleti and Gheorghe Tinca, Hungarian and

Romanian defense ministers, talked a lot about this issue during their visit to Miercurea-Ciuc. After talking to the commanders of the 71st Mountain Hunter Brigade, the guests met the heads of the prefecture and the local authorities.

Pal Vilmos Santa, county council chairman, told Hungarian Radio that the problems of the Armed Forces' unauthorized expansion and their increasing housing needs was raised. They cause tension in relations between the public and the Army. They asked that the local authorities be informed about every step of this kind in advance.

They said that helicopters and jets fly low above the town during celebrations, at the time of the Hungarians' religious or other feasts, disturbing the celebrations and causing fear in the people. They asked for that practice to be stopped. The Romanian defense minister expressed surprise. He promised to review the issue. However, he did not say anything in connection with the two other issues.

According to his schedule, Gyorgy Keleti met the commanders of the Mures Army Corps in Sighisoara. He is to meet the county leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania at 1100 local time in Tirgu Mures.

Turkish Envoy Comments on Ties, War With Greece

AU2111090494 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with Yamam Baskut, Turkish ambassador to Romania, by Cristiana Terenche; place and date not given: "Bucharest-Ankara: An Axis of Stability in This Region"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Terenche] In the past three years, Romanian-Turkish relations have been developing very rapidly. Have Turkey's relations with other countries developed in the same way?

[Baskut] Looking around at our neighbors—and for us Romania is a Black Sea neighbor—I believe that our best relations are with Romania. It is obvious indeed that in the past three years we have succeeded in reaching fourth place regarding investments and ninth place regarding the social capital brought to Romania. Currently, we can witness a spectacular development, namely that after the small-scale enterprises, now the big companies are also coming because they have been encouraged by the opening of the Turkish-Romanian Bank, whose presence in Bucharest will facilitate financial transactions. There will still be a few problems left to be solved, such as transportation. Meanwhile, air transportation has improved and we have daily flights to Istanbul and back.

[Terenche] Is Turkey interested in participating in actions to revive Romania's infrastructure?

[Baskut] It is indeed and there are signs that the big road-building companies want to come here and the Turkish state encourages them. [passage omitted]

[Terence] For the time being, Turkey's relations with Greece are good. Both countries are NATO members and participate in the Black Sea cooperation. However, it seems that these relations will soon become tense, depending on what Greece decides regarding the expansion of its territorial waters from 6 to 12 nautical miles.

[Baskut] Indeed, currently our relations with Greece do not pose a problem, but there might be a problem if it expands its territorial waters to 12 nautical miles. It will not be only our problem but one for everybody neighboring the Black Sea. It will also be your problem....

[Terence] You have threatened war. Was that threat serious?

[Baskut] In this case, there is no other solution than war. We have many problems with Greece. All those problems can be discussed and negotiated, but not the issue of changing the limit of territorial waters. In this situation they will be very close to the Turkish coast. That cannot be accepted... We cannot accept having the Aegean Sea under the hegemony of another state.

[Terence] Couldn't such tension affect the already very tense climate in the Balkans?

[Baskut] Turkey, like Romania, is a stable country. We can even talk about an axis of stability between Ankara and Bucharest in our region. However, there is no doubt that a new conflict in this region would encompass not only the Balkan Peninsula but the whole of Europe. We do not want that.

Russian Ship Attempts To Leave Customs Area

AU1911215094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Mihai Panzariu, secretary of state and general director of Romanian General Customs Directorate, this evening informed our radio station of an attempt today by the ship Tuma—under the colors of the Russian Federation and under customs supervision—to leave the Gogosu arm of the Danube River, in the area of Iron Gate II. The ship has been involved in legal proceedings with the Romanian Naval Institution, because two or three months ago it violated the embargo at Iron Gate on the Danube River by presenting false documents. After the first court hearing of the case, the Naval Institution appealed, and the results of this appeal are currently awaited. Mr. Mihai Panzariu said that this is the reason the ship has remained under customs supervision.

In the attempt to leave the supervision area, the Port and Customs authorities intervened in accordance with current regulations, with acoustic and flashing signals.

The representatives of the Western European Union asked for Romanian Customs' approval to intervene forcefully. Mr. Mihai Panzariu mentioned that this request was refused so as to avoid an uncustomary situation and possible loss of lives.

The Calafat Customs and Port Authorities succeeded in stopping the ship, which was headed for Prahovo.

An investigation will be carried out in the next few days in order to clarify the reasons why a ship under Russian colors attempted to leave the customs supervision area.

Armed Forces General Staff Members Listed

AU2111105594 Bucharest VOCEA ROMANIEI in Romanian 12 Nov 94 p 6 (tentative)

[Unattributed report: "The General Staff of the Romanian Armed Forces—1994]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current members of the General Staff of the Romanian Armed Forces are:

Colonel General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Lieutenant General Radu Gheorghe, first deputy of the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Lieutenant General Nicolae Schiopu, deputy of the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Major General Decebal Ilina, chief of the Military Intelligence Direction and deputy of the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Major General Ion Gadiuta, deputy of the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Lieutenant General Raul Buliga, general inspector of the Armed Forces General Staff Inspectorate and deputy of the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff;

Major General Mihaita Costache, chief of the Operations Direction;

Major General Ion Lulache, chief of the Organization-Mobilization Direction;

Major General Nicolae Corduneanu, chief of the Multilateral Negotiations and Verification Direction;

Colonel Gavril Ghitas, chief of the Planning Direction;

Colonel Gheorghe Preda, chief of the Personnel Direction of the Armed Forces General Staff.

Serbian Krajina Planes Bomb Bihac 19 Nov

*AU1911161494 Paris AFP in English 1602 GMT
19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 19 (AFP)—Two Serb planes from Croatia bombed Bihac town in northwest Bosnia Saturday, a Bosnian military statement cited by the BPA news agency said.

Two planes coming from Croatia's Serb-controlled Krajina region attacked the Moslem town around 3:50 p.m. (1450 GMT), said the command of the 5th Bosnian Army Corps which controls Bihac.

The report could not be immediately confirmed but UN officials said there was "air activity over Croatia."

Serb Plane Downed Over Cazin

*AU1911172894 Paris AFP in English 1716 GMT
19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 19 (AFP)—A Serb plane based in the Croatian Krajina region was shot down and its pilot killed over Cazin in northwest Bosnia Saturday while bombing mainly Moslem Bosnian Government positions, UN officials said here.

The UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) spokesman said they did not know if the plane was hit by Bosnian fire but said it was one of two that overflew the town, bombarding a "very populated" region.

Many Casualties Feared

*LD1911184294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps this afternoon downed one of three enemy aircraft that were bombarding Cazin. The aircraft crashed on one building and many civilian casualties are feared. Muhamed Mulic has a report:

[Mulic] Aggressor aircraft from the so-called Serb Krajina, having taken off from Udbina Airport near Korenica, attacked Cazin and its surroundings around 1600 [1500 GMT]. Three Orao [Eagle] aircraft took part in the attack showering the town with rockets and napalm. One of the aggressor's aircraft was hit and, engulfed in flames, crashed into a residential block. Many buildings have caught fire and there are many civilian casualties. The pilot of the aircraft died. This is yet another Serb air attack on the Bihac area and its civilians in the last two days.

2d Plane Reportedly Downed

*LD1911225494 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 2230 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] As we reported the 5th Corps antiaircraft defense hit a Serb Eagle plane above Cazin at 1550. The pilot was killed when the plane was downed. His name is Boro Novic and he was born on 30 January

1964 in Kraljevo [Serbia]. His last home address was in Derventa [Bosnia] and he took off from the Udbine airbase. His driver's license was found by the 5th Corps soldiers and they faxed a copy of it to us.

The information service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps claims that their antiaircraft defense downed one more Serb plane this afternoon and that it crashed somewhere in the occupied part of Croatia.

Croatian Official: Karadzic Threatens Zagreb

*AU1811175194 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT
18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has threatened to bomb Zagreb, accusing it of supporting Bosnian Government forces, a Croatian Defence Ministry official said Friday [18 November].

In a letter Thursday to Croatian Air Force chief Imre Agotic, Karadzic "threatened to bombard Zagreb airport, the Lucko landing strip and the Zmaj factory," the unnamed official said. The bombings would be carried out "if Croatia continues to support Moslem forces in the Bihac region" of northwest Bosnia.

Karadzic accused Zagreb of transporting "military equipment and munitions" for Bosnian Government forces to Coralici, 20 kilometres (12 miles) northwest of Bihac, the official said. Karadzic's letter, whose existence was confirmed by the UN Protection Forces at its Zagreb headquarters, was passed to Croatian authorities via UN military observers stationed at Banja Luka, northwest Bosnia.

A Croatian Defence Ministry spokesman declined to comment Friday.

Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, along with dissident Moslem leader Fikret Abdic, are fighting Bosnian Government forces along two fronts in an increasingly bitter battle for control of Bihac, a government-held enclave of which part is a UN-mandated safe area.

Further on Karadzic Letter

*AU1911145994 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT
19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Nov 19 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serb news agency denied Saturday that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had threatened to bomb the Croatian capital but said that Karadzic "does not rule out" the possibility. [passage omitted]

SRNA, in a report monitored here, did not deny the existence of the Karadzic letter.

Quoting the press office of the self-declared Serb Republic of Bosnia, SRNA said Karadzic had "not threatened to bomb Zagreb, but does not rule out such a possibility if the Republic of Croatia carries out its threat

to launch an attack against the Serb republic in the region of Bihac." [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Urges Air Strikes on Serb Bihac Forces

LD2011125394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Bihac is extremely complex. News that we received half an hour ago say that Serb tanks from the Republic of Croatia entered a number of villages near Bihac destroying and setting on fire everything in their way. We have informed the UN Security Council about this situation and we are now waiting for their reaction. But, as you know they need time to make a decision. If the Security Council fails to take urgent steps, the situation in Bihac may become critical, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic stated following a meeting with the State Department's coordinator for assistance to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Daniel Ferver. We now expect concrete action, not preventive overflights; we expect very serious air strikes on these tanks, Haris Silajdzic said.

UN Authorizes Air Strikes on Serbs in Croatia

MS2011141094 London THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 20 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Robert Fox: "Nato Air Strikes on Serbs Cleared by UN"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The prospect of a punitive Nato air raid on a Serb airbase in Croatia increased last night.

The UN Security Council voted to authorise air strikes on Serb positions in Croatia after Serb aircraft from Udbina, in the Krajina pocket, launched a defiant second strike against the besieged Bosnian enclave of Bihac. The UN resolution gave Nato permission to make the strikes in support of UN-designated "safe zones".

At least 15 people were wounded in Cazin, south of Bihac, after apartments and flats crowded with refugees were bombed and the town centre was strafed, according to UN and Bosnian sources. One of the two Orao fighter-bombers engaged in the raid was shot down and its pilot killed.

Last night Paul Risley, the UN's chief spokesman in Zagreb, said: "This was a gross violation of the no-fly zone over Bosnia."

On Friday UN observers watched as two Serb aircraft in Croatia dropped napalm and cluster bombs on Bihac, designated a safe area by the UN. For three weeks Bosnian Muslim forces and Bosnian Serbs have been locked in combat throughout the Bihac enclave.

Yesterday the forces were still fighting for the Grabez Plateau, high ground overlooking Bihac from the east. Other Muslim units were putting up stiff resistance in the defence of Velika Kladusa, in the northern tip of the

enclave. The town is surrounded by Bosnian Serbs and renegade Muslim fighters commanded by Fikret Abdic, the warlord businessman and fraudster.

President Tudjman of Croatia had written to the UN Security Council saying he had no objection to air strikes against the Udbina base. The base has been used for several attacks in recent days but Nato commanders said they could not be sure the aircraft were entering Bosnian air space.

Yesterday afternoon Britain tabled the resolution before the Security Council to broaden the mandate to extend the no-flight ban to Serb-occupied Croatia. Britain's Ambassador to the UN, Sir David Hannay, intimated that the new measure would apply only if further attacks were launched from the base. But a French official said: "It is now the time for action."

Bosnian Serb militias stopped all but one of 21 UN convoys moving through occupied Bosnia yesterday. In the morning an American C-130 transport plane was fired at and hit as it was flying UN supplies for refugees into Sarajevo airport. The airport was closed and the airlift cancelled.

There are signs that the Bosnian Serb leadership is becoming increasingly frenzied and isolated. They are still cut off from support from Serbia itself, ever since President Milosovic put them under embargo for refusing the latest international peace terms for Bosnia. Yesterday they switched off their fax machines in their ramshackle capital in the mountain village of Pale.

Bihac Muslims Appeal for NATO Action

LD2011234094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 20 Nov 94

[Report by correspondent Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An appeal has just been sent to NATO asking for its immediate intervention because aggressor attacks, very fierce indeed, are continuing from the so-called Serb autonomous region [SAO] of Krajina. [passage omitted]

We have just learned from the [Bosnian Muslim] 5th Corps headquarters in Bihac that more than 10,000 shells landed on the Bihac region today. Another 6,000 soldiers arrived from the Krajina SAO today and it is estimated that 2,000 of them are armed Abdic supporters. The aggressor is bringing in armored personnel carriers, tanks, and thousands of fresh troops, and this is a sign for Bihac to expect a new hell, new attacks. That is why an appeal was sent to NATO from Bihac. It says that all conditions exist for military operations against Serb targets and positions because Bihac, Kladusa, and the entire Cazin Krajina are still being targeted from these positions. The aggressor has decided to destroy Bihac. NATO must intervene because, let us repeat, the aggressor is bringing in new forces and massing them

around Bihac. A fresh fierce attack is being prepared and infantry, artillery, and tanks are going to be used.

UN Deplores Serbs' 'Uncooperative Attitude'

AU1811154494 Paris AFP in English 1515 GMT
18 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 18 (AFP)—The UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) expressed dissatisfaction over the uncooperativeness of the Bosnian Serbs after their commander turned down UNPROFOR requests to meet him, a UN commander said here Friday [18 November].

French General Herve Gobilliard, commander of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo and the acting UN commander of Bosnia in the absence of General Michael Rose, in his Friday communique to the press said UNPROFOR "strongly deplores the uncooperative attitude" of the Bosnian Serbs. The communique came after "repeated requests" by Gobilliard to meet with the commander of the Bosnian Serbs, General Ratko Mladic, were turned down.

The aim of the meeting was to discuss the deteriorating military situation in Sarajevo, said the statement.

On Thursday, Gobilliard accused both sides of firing at each other in the Sarajevo area. The Bosnian presidency building was hit Thursday and on Friday three civilians were wounded and one killed in the streets of Sarajevo. Gobilliard "urgently" requested another meeting Friday with Mladic, the statement said. "If this meeting is also refused it will be taken as a sign that the Bosnian Serb army is no longer interested in further cooperation with UNPROFOR", Gobilliard said.

Ganic: UN Inaction Could 'Collapse' Mission

AU1811200594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, on several occasions today talked to the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi, who is in New York.

In a telephone conversation Akashi confirmed that Bihac was bombed by cluster bombs and napalm today and that the bombing was carried out by the air force of the Serbian aggressor.

Ganic demanded that Udbine and Banja Luka airports, from which aggressor's aircraft are taking off, be eliminated immediately. He also said that if the NATO air force again fails to act on this occasion such a behavior by the international factors would lead the UN Protection Forces mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina into a total collapse.

Ejup Ganic conveyed the protest of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to Yasushi Akashi and

expressed hope that this time Brussels and New York will take the first step, the ONASA news agency reports.

Dudakovic: Serbs Hoping To Strike Before NATO

LD2011154594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] How is the UN resolution, adopted last night, being implemented on the ground? I have just spoken about it over the phone with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 5th Corps commander, General Atif Dudakovic. The general said: Following the adoption of the resolution, attacks have become even fiercer and are now being launched from all directions in the so-called Krajina Serbian autonomous region. The aggressors are clearly taking advantage of the time that will pass between the adoption of the resolution and possible NATO action. Meanwhile, the aggressor is destroying everything in his wake in the Cazin area and in Bihac. Columns of tanks are moving on Bihac. In Bihac today, Gen. Dudakovic says, we see the repetition of Vukovar, Gorazde, and Srebrenica all at once. [passage omitted]

Muslim Group Wants French, British, Russians Out

AU1811161294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 94

[Report by Stevo Latinovic on news conference held by the Liberal Bosniak Organization in Sarajevo on 18 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Speaking about the current political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Salih Bozo, the Liberal Bosniak Organization vice president, said that it is more than critical. According to him, the crisis cannot be overcome without the international community. Here he acknowledged the successes and the strength of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Even in history to this date the international factor played a decisive role concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international community in 1992 admitted that an aggression against a sovereign state had been carried out by Serbia and Montenegro, for some time, even by Croatia, and now also by the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] which, as the Liberal Bosniak Organization assesses, has openly sided with the aggressor.

From Mitterrand's visit to Juppe's proclamations, France has openly asserted itself as the advocate of Serbia and Montenegro. The Russian stance is already known anyway and Britain should also be added to the two.

The Liberal Bosniak Organization proposes to the government to define more clearly the country's policy toward the United Nations, carry out an analysis of

UNPROFOR behavior, explain more actively the situation to the friendly nations, and take Bosnia-Herzegovina's fate out of the hands of France, Russia, and Britain and withdraw hospitality to the troops from these countries within UNPROFOR. [passage omitted]

UN: Krajina Serb Attacks 'Unacceptable'

AU2011190894 Paris AFP in English 1832 GMT
20 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Oct 20 (AFP)—The top civilian and military officials of the United Nations in the former Yugoslavia on Sunday condemned Croatian Serb attacks on northwest Bosnia as unacceptable violations of UN resolutions.

Special envoy Yasushi Akashi spoke from New York with French General Bertrand de Lapresle in Zagreb. They later issued a statement calling the air raids Friday and Saturday flagrant violations of UN resolutions, in particular one that urges respect for the internationally recognized border between Croatia and Bosnia.

They also expressed concern over 1,200 Bagladeshi UN troops trapped in Bihac in northwest Bosnia, saying their reserves of food and fuel were dangerously low and that Croatian Serb authorities had rejected repeated UN requests for a shipment of medicine to be allowed through.

The two officials said a continued blockade of aid shipments for civilians and UN forces would be unacceptable. Akashi also discussed the situation in Bosnia with NATO Admiral Leighton Smith, a UN spokesman said. The talks came after the UN Security Council approved the use of air strikes, if necessary, against Croatian Serbs in the Krajina region of Croatia. Spokesman Paul Risley would not give details about the telephone conversation talks between Akashi and Smith, who was in Naples, Italy. [passage omitted]

Serb General: Forces Advancing on Cazin, Buzim

LD2011230494 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Serb TV news began its broadcast this evening with a message of congratulations from Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Srpska republic army, to his soldiers for their alleged capture of all territory the Bosnian Serbs lost around Bihac in October.

[Begin Milovanovic recording] I inform our public that the Srpska republic army, with some units of the Internal Affairs Ministry, has succeeded in liberating all the territory the enemy occupied in the Krupa-Bihac part of the battlefield in the last offensive. After soldiers and officers of the 5th Corps belonging to the fundamentalist army of Alija Izetbegovic failed to accept my call on them to surrender, and the population failed to respond to my call for them to prevent the withdrawal of the 5th

Corps to the wider area of Bihac, I was forced to continue to pursue them regardless of where their infantry were located.

Our forces are on the approaches of Bihac and are energetically advancing from the east, north, and south. Some of our forces have crossed the river Una and are advancing on Cazin and Buzim. The jihad warriors must be rendered incapable of carrying out further military operations if peace and freedom are to be secured in this area for the Serb and Muslim population. [end recording]

Bihac Area Attacks Intensify

AU2111094394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Nov 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Throughout the night and this morning the bestial artillery and tank attacks by Karadzic's and Martić's chetniks have continued against the Bihac region, the UN protected zone. The attacks are again the fiercest from the direction of Licko Petrovo Selo on the outskirts of Bihac [word indistinct] to Veliki Kocaj, and along the entire border all the way to Velika Kladusa, where Martić's chetniks and forcefully mobilized Muslims from [words indistinct]. Nor have the attacks stopped on the defense lines on the Bosanska Krupa and Buzim fronts from the direction of Bosanski Petrovac.

This morning the chetniks have been stepping up their combined artillery and infantry attacks on [word indistinct]. The 5th Corps is resisting all these attacks on all the lines. There are no words to express the strength and morale with which these people are fighting for their lives and [word indistinct].

UN Notes Heavy Fighting

AU2111101094 Paris AFP in English 0944 GMT
21 Nov 94

[Report by Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 21 (AFP)—Two missiles were fired into downtown Sarajevo Monday morning, one impacting on the roof of the presidency building and another on nearby city hall, UN officials and eyewitnesses said. One man was slightly injured at city hall and sirens immediately resounded warning people to get off the street. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Monday reported possible overnight Serb shelling of Tuzla, a UN-declared safe area in northern Bosnia. [passage omitted]

In other developments, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon confirmed that Serb forces have now regained all territory earlier lost to Moslem-led government forces in northwestern Bosnia, near Bihac. "One

can say it's done," UNPROFOR spokesman Major Herve Gourmelon said here. [passage omitted]

Gourmelon reported "fierce fighting" Sunday night and Monday morning on all lines in the Bihac enclave, with Serb coalition forces striking at the heart of the enclave from all directions.

Very heavy fighting was taking place at Klokot, some three kilometers northwest of Bihac town, just outside the 80 square kilometers (32 square miles) safe area zone, he said. [passage omitted]

Fighting also continued in the north of the enclave around the encircled government-held town of Velika Kladusa. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, some 1,200 Bangladeshi UN soldiers remained trapped within the Bihac pocket, some in the thick of the fighting, amid UN warnings that attacks against them will also trigger a NATO response. The UN has vainly tried to resupply the troops whose supplies are now running dangerously low.

Meanwhile, UN forces in Bosnia remained at "orange" alert status Monday, after going to "red" status for four hours on Sunday afternoon.

A UN official, who refused to be named, said it was quite likely NATO had been about to launch an air strike Sunday, as reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper. The paper, quoting western officials, said a raid on the Krajina Udbina airport was approved by top NATO and UN authorities, but had to be called off at the last minute because of bad weather.

Skies were clear in the Sarajevo area Monday morning.

Missile Explodes Near Presidency in Sarajevo

LD2111101394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The center of Sarajevo has again been shaken by a powerful explosion. According to latest reports, at least one missile exploded in close proximity to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency building. We have not yet received any reports on casualties. Sarajevo was put on general alert at 1000.

UN Cited on Missile Attack

AU2111113894 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 21 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 21 (AFP)—Two anti-tank wire-guided missiles slammed Monday into the Bosnian Presidency building in downtown Sarajevo and the nearby city hall, injuring three people, a UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) spokesman said.

The attack took place at 9:39 a.m. (0839 GMT), Lt.-Col. Patrick Declety said. [passage omitted]

The origin of fire in the latest attack was being assessed.

UNPROFOR Troops on 'Red Alert' in Sarajevo

AU2111104194 Paris AFP in English 1017 GMT 21 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 21 (AFP)—UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) troops returned to red alert Monday morning [21 November], a UNPROFOR officer said here.

Colonel Jamie Daniel from the headquarters of UNPROFOR in Bosnia told AFP the troops went on red, or maximum, alert at 9:00 a.m. (0800 GMT) as a part of what he called "a regular procedure".

UNPROFOR was on maximum alert for four hours Sunday then went back to the status "orange". Red alert obliges soldiers to wear their flak jackets and helmets and reduce their movements to a minimum.

Silajdzic, Christopher Discuss Bihac Situation

LD2011184494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher talked on the phone this evening about the situation in the Bihac protected zone.

Warren Christopher showed particular interest in details of the aggressor's actions coming from the UN protected areas [UNPA's] in the Republic of Croatia. Prime Minister Silajdzic briefed Christopher on the latest tank attack from the UN-protected areas which was carried out this afternoon and the extremely difficult humanitarian situation in the Bihac protected zone caused by a several month-long blockade of humanitarian convoys. Mr. Christopher said there had been a lack of clarity regarding the possibility of the United Nations and NATO carrying out actions in the Bihac UNPA. The latest UN Security Council resolution has resolved that issue and now an indisputable basis exists for taking measures to prevent attacks coming from UNPA's, Mr. Christopher said.

Prime Minister Silajdzic expressed pleasure with the U.S. Government policy which urges effective protection of Bihac and other protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Silajdzic Meets U.S. Envoy

LD1911221694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic this evening received U.S. Ambassador Victor Jackovich. In lengthy talks they examined the current situation in connection with attacks on the Bihac free zone, the shelling of Sarajevo, and the moves against other protected areas in Bosnia.

The U.S. ambassador informed our prime minister that the U.S. Government is urging tougher action and a stricter response by the international community to the violation of the resolution on protected and exclusion zones. They also spoke about the increasingly frequent attacks by Serb paramilitary formations on U.S. officials in Bosnia-Herzegovina. An aircraft carrying Daniel Ferver, the special U.S. Government coordinator tasked with providing assistance to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was hit at Sarajevo airport today.

Silajdzic Concerned Over Federation Issues

LD2011215594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2140 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim and Muslim-Croat Federation Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic on Sunday expressed concern over failure to respect the agreement on Muslim-Croat federation.

In an interview with Sarajevo Radio, Silajdzic said he asked U.S. Government Coordinator for the Establishment of the Muslim-Croat Federation Daniel Ferver to determine who and why was establishment of a joint Muslim-Croat customs office obstructed. [sentence as received]

Silajdzic said the federation could not exist without a joint customs service and accused the Croats of collecting customs duties for all goods imported for Muslim territories.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats last March signed a U.S.-brokered agreement on forming a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina after a year of fierce fighting over the territories with mixed Croat-Muslim population. The federation has no other institution except for president and the government, and the Muslims and Croats accuse each other of the obstruction of the agreement.

Silajdzic rejected the stand of the Croatian Democratic Union leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina for the Muslim-Croat Federation Government be based elsewhere and not in Sarajevo.

Bosnian Croat Herzeg-Bosnia Radio on Sunday accused Bosnian Muslim authorities in the northeastern town of Tuzla of continuing forced mobilization of Croats. Croatian Democratic Union official in Tuzla Ivica Marinovic said there were 20 Croats in Muslim prisons who had tried to flee from the Muslim army to join the Croat army.

Muslims Imprison 20 Croat Soldiers in Tuzla

LD1911211694 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Representatives of the joint [Croat-Muslim federal military] headquarters visited Tuzla today. They were informed about the problems facing Croat young men because the Muslim authorities

prevented them from joining the HVO [Bosnian Croat forces] ranks despite an earlier agreement. Our correspondent Zvonimir Banovic has filed this report from the Croat community of Soli:

[Begin Banovic recording] Members of the joint headquarters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Army Colonel Vinko Lucic and Lieutenant Dario Vukovic visited the HDZ [Bosnian Croat ruling party, branch of President Tudjman's ruling party in Croatia] municipal and county headquarters of Soli. The high-ranking guests were received by Ante Zvonar, chairman of the HDZ municipal committee, and the secretary of the HDZ's county committee of Soli. Lucic and Vukovic were interested in the implementation of the agreement between the Croat and Bosniak-Muslim sides regarding the military engagement of the Croats from Soli in the units of the 108th HVO Infantry Brigade as well as the activities regarding the establishment of the Soli battalion. Unfortunately, Mr. Zvonar said, the agreement was not respected as far as the provision on the transfer of Croats from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to the HVO was concerned. So far, the agreement was respected only in one case. Mr. Marinovic said that around 20 Croat soldiers who tried to join the HVO were imprisoned by the Bosniak-Muslim military authorities, thus giving cause for suspicion regarding the justifiability of the Croat-Muslim federation. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Curfew Imposed in Bosnian Croat Republic

LD2011152494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 20 (TANJUG)—Radio Herzeg-Bosna on Sunday said a government-imposed curfew would be in force in all of the Bosnian Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna as of Sunday.

The radio said the curfew was being imposed because of an aggravated security situation, but did not give any further details. Radio Herceg-Bosna said the curfew would be effective from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. local time (2100 to 0400 GMT) and would be implemented by police units made up strictly of Bosnian Croats.

Herceg-Bosna has been behaving as an independent state—it has its own currency and army—despite the agreement on the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina signed in Washington in March this year. The federation for the time being only has a president and a cabinet and no other institutions.

The Washington agreement was signed under the pressure and auspices of U.S. President Bill Clinton. It practically put an end to 14 months of heavy fighting between Bosnian Croats and Muslims, especially in the Neretva River valley and central Bosnia.

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Further on Curfew

LD201123394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Herceg-Bosna government decision to introduce a curfew lasting till 0500 in the morning in all municipalities in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna came into force at 2200 this evening. This is the first time that a curfew has been introduced at the same time in all municipalities.

It has been announced that the government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna reached this decision after consideration of the current situation and in order to improve overall security in the area of the republic.

HVO, Army Commanders Discuss 'Joint Actions'

AU1811170894 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Stipe Pudja: "We Are Ready for the Serbian Counteroffensive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresevo—On Sunday, a meeting between the delegations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by Generals Tihomir Blaskic and Rasim Delic, took place in Kresevo. The president and the vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kresimir Zubak and Ejup Ganic, also took part at the meeting, as well as the representatives of the Joint Staff of the HVO and the Bosnian Army, headed by Generals Ante Roso and Fikret Muslimovic.

As was stated after the meeting, the participants discussed relations and further forms of cooperation between the Bosnian Army and the HVO, the possibilities of improving the work of the Joint Staff, as well as further steps in speeding up the implementation of the Washington Agreement. The delegations were also introduced to the situation on the front in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the zones of responsibility of all the Bosnian Army and the HVO's corps.

In the statement for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, Federation President Zubak said that the meeting was just one in a series of meetings, which were preconditions for a complete and principled implementation of the agreement that the representatives of the Croatian people had achieved with the representatives of the Bosniak-Muslim people, as well as for the implementation of the Washington Agreement. President Zubak also underlined that several significant agreements had been achieved, perhaps even the most significant in the implementation of the Constitution of the Federation so far.

General Blaskic, head of the General Staff of the HVO, told SLOBODNA DALMACIJA that the military situation had also been discussed at the meeting, particularly regarding the zones of responsibility of the HVO and Bosnian Army. "We agreed upon further forms of cooperation and joint actions. One of the questions that we

discussed today is the question of the Joint Staff and its form of activity. The basic goal of today's talks is to increase the operative capacity of the Joint Staff in other regions under HVO or Bosnian Army control," General Blaskic said, adding that some questions regarding the cooperation between the HVO and Bosnian Army in certain regions of particular interest were also discussed.

"I expect that what follows on the ground will show our sincerity and good intentions, and the justifiability of today's talks," the head of the General Staff of the HVO said, underlining that the expansion of authority and joint actions by the two armies had been agreed upon.

As for the situation around Bihac, Blaskic said that the HVO and the Bosnian Army were undertaking joint actions and that he was satisfied with the cooperation so far. As for Kupres, according to Blaskic, it is the most active battlefield right now, and the Serbs are massing there and bringing in new troops.

"The enemy will probably decide to start a counteroffensive, but we are preparing ourselves, and we shall be able to respond in an effective manner," Blaskic said.

Rasim Delic, commander in chief of the Bosnian Army, told SLOBODNA DALMACIJA that joint operations in the Kupres region had been discussed at the meeting, and he expressed his full satisfaction with what had happened there. Because, as he added, that is the first step in the further cooperation of the HVO and the Bosnian Army.

"Kupres is a good beginning. There are mutual interests, regarding our national interests as well as regarding our attitudes toward the state in which we live together," Delic said. He also denied the information spread by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the Serbian side about the reported successes of the Bosnian Serbs in the Grabez area.

"Even before that, we saw, on many occasions, that UNPROFOR's information, as well as that of the Serbian side, was sometimes misinformation. When speaking of UNPROFOR, I would like to mention here one piece of misinformation regarding the situation in Gorazde in May this year. In that respect, I can say that the Serbs did not take any strategically important territory. Right now, with such a concentration of forces, they are certainly trying to do something in order to make up for the defeats they are experiencing on the ground," Delic said. He also pointed out that, at the meeting he held with Akashi and General Rose in Sarajevo yesterday, he raised the question of the UN protected areas. "It is obvious that, when speaking of the integrity of the Republic of Croatia, that integrity has been denied, and UNPROFOR can do nothing to stop the military activity from the UN protected areas. We raised the questions of from where the Serbs obtained heavy artillery and air forces in the UN protected areas, and why the border of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina is unprotected," Delic said.

He also said that the Bosnian Army was endeavoring to stretch the aggressor's lines across all the fronts, and that in the area around Bihac, combat positions had been altered only in recently liberated areas.

"The Serbs can reach Bihac only by indirect gunfire. They were able to do Bihac before, just as we are able to reach towns and places under their control with such fire. However, unlike them, we only attack military objectives," Delic pointed out.

Paper Views 'Fragile' Croat-Muslim Alliance

BR1811182194 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 18 Nov 94
p 5

[Report by F. Relea: "The Fragile Croatian-Muslim Idyll"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar—They arrive in their shining white Mercedes, packed with bodyguards. The appointment is at the Ero hotel, in western Mostar. Dressed in combat uniforms, wearing a pistol attached to their belts, and accompanied by their advisers, the two generals shake hands and look into each other's eyes. A grimace breaks into a smile. They have been sworn enemies until recently. Today the course of the war in Bosnia is placing them face to face at the negotiating table, in the presence of Spanish military personnel and of members of the European Union's administration in Mostar. General Nedjeljko Obradovic, who is the chief of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) in the Mostar area, and General Ramiz Drekovac, chief of the Bosnian Army's 4th Corps—two of the most prestigious military leaders of their respective armies—still eye each other warily despite the fact that their men have begun to cooperate in the field.

It would be a mistake to overestimate the significance of what have been publicized as the first victorious military operations conducted by the Croats and Muslims against the Serbs since the beginning of the war in Bosnia. Cutting short any temptation to be overoptimistic, General Obradovic said: "It is illusory to think that we can regard the Muslims as our friends. We now form a marriage of convenience. This can work at a given point in time and in certain areas, but it is not a definitive arrangement. There will be no peace in the near future. The war will last many years."

General Drekovac, who was commander of the "Armija's" 5th Corps in Bihac for 26 months until a year ago, indicated that his successor in that northwestern enclave, General Dudakovic, made some "small mistakes" during the offensive launched against the Serbian forces. The most important one, according to Drekovac, was "advancing too far" in reconquering territory, without taking into account the fact that the 5th Corps troops lacked the heavy artillery required to defend its outposts. The Serbian reaction, with heavy-caliber weapons, including converted land-to-air missiles, did not take

long to come and managed to reverse the military situation in the Bihac zone in the space of a few days.

Concerning the reported military cooperation between the "Armija" and the HVO in Kupres, in other points of central Bosnia, or in Bihac, General Obradovic stressed: "Kupres was liberated by the HVO." He then added: "Our forces were south of the town, and the 'Armija's' north. They acted completely independently, although pursuing the same objective. In Kupres we destroyed four chetnik tanks and made 21 prisoners. The Serbs suffered many casualties."

Obradovic admitted that some cooperation did take place between the two armies during the central Bosnia offensive—"the commanders spoke to each other and cooperated in some respects." Muslim general Drekovac recalled that Kupres was not part of the region under his command, but he said that they joined forces in combat: "It is very important that on both sides (Croats and Muslims) we have understood that we need each other."

The front line is shifting. The "Armija" has launched simultaneous attacks on different points of Bosnia-Herzegovina. "The commanders of the two armies have daily conversations to coordinate the activities," Obradovic admitted. "We are witnessing important changes in the battlefield. The most important aspect is that there have been no incidents between the HVO and the 'Armija.' (Since signing a truce on 25 February last) we are in a position to fight jointly. The Serbs are perfectly aware of this, and are afraid."

On the Croats' side, Obradovic recognized that "conditions have changed since the war began. At first the 'Armija' had nothing—this is not our war," (Bosnian President) Izetbegovic used to say—they simply had to withdraw as the Serbs advanced. Now they have received good equipment, and they feel stronger and capable of conquering back their territory. They are even trying to manufacture weapons." What this military chief had to say about the Muslims evinced something more than just wariness or mistrust, even though in the past they were allies "until they shot us in the back," in Obradovic's words.

He did not beat about the bush when referring to a possible lifting of the arms' embargo on Bosnia on the part of the United States. "This would lead to a new war between the HVO and the 'Armija.' To begin with, even before the first weapons found their way here, the Serbs would attack us all," Obradovic could accept a lifting of the embargo only if this meant that the incoming weapons would be distributed equally to the Croats and Muslims, although—he stressed—under strict control enforced by the former. "We want to control the arrival of weapons intended for both the HVO and the 'Armija,'" because, in his view, the Muslims could receive weapons from the air or via UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force in Bosnia], "as for example in Bihac, thanks to cooperation from the Bangladeshi battalion."

On the Muslim side, Drekovic spoke much more curtly: "The lifting of the embargo is a matter for politicians. It is up to them. I know that the HVO is against the lifting of the embargo, but if we are capable of working together for the (Croatian-Muslim) federation, the embargo will be unimportant."

The respective readings of the conflict by the Muslim and Croatian political and military leaders are radically different. Obradovic strove to explain that the war began "because the Muslims wanted a corridor to the sea through the territories controlled by the Croats, which means that there still are a number of critical areas from a military viewpoint." Muslims loyal to the Sarajevo government (which still upholds the original entity called Bosnia Herzegovina), such as Drekovic, point to the simple fact that the republic already had a corridor to the sea before the war, through Neum—that is, until the Croats decided that Neum should form part of their self-proclaimed republic of Herceg-Bosna.

Silajdzic Says Sarajevo To Remain Capital

LD2011160794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] There have been certain suggestions that the government should be moved out of Sarajevo, but this will not happen, Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has said, adding that Sarajevo has been Bosnia-Herzegovina's capital for centuries and that it will remain so. All government affairs will be discharged from Sarajevo, according to Prime Minister Silajdzic, who received today Daniel Ferver, U.S. government special coordinator for assistance to the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The topic of their talks was determined by the post of the State Department guest. Mladen Bosnjak has a report:

[Bosnjak] Daniel Ferver spoke about great convergence of views and stands of Washington and Sarajevo on the key issues in building the federation between the Croat and Bosniak nations. The high-ranking U.S. official offered Prime Minister Silajdzic a (?draft) treaty on assistance in the development of the federation. That assistance will contain the maximum concessions and [words indistinct] and Sarajevo as a multicultural entity [passage indistinct].

FM Ljubijankic on Merit of U.S. Embargo Move

BR2111092794 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in
Italian 21 Nov 94 p 11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic by "R. C."; date and place not given: "Against Our Enemies The Language of Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic repeated in an interview granted to our newspaper that now is the time to let weapons speak because "that is the only language our enemies show they understand."*

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] Has your acceptance of the peace plan been overtaken by the facts?

[Ljubijankic] No. Our government agrees to the peace plan. Unfortunately we have been forced to use the old stick-and-carrot method. All we did in launching the offensive was to exercise our right to self-defense. But peace remains our sincere desire.

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] What will be the effect of the U.S. decision not to take part in the UN embargo on arms shipments for Bosnia?

[Ljubijankic] Overall we do not expect arms, either from the United States or from other countries. The merit of this move will be psychological. In recognizing Bosnia's right to exist, the West—in particular Europe—will have to acknowledge that we are a European nation and that, even if we have been Muslims for 500 years, we are a country with Christian traditions and deep ties with Europe. We seek cooperation with the West, not confrontation.

[CORRIERE DELLA SERA] Italy recently opened an embassy in Sarajevo. How have bilateral relations evolved since our government took this initiative?

[Ljubijankic] We have established very satisfactory political dialogue and cooperation with Italy. Despite the huge difficulties caused by the war, we wish to step up relations on a political and cultural level, but especially in the fields of technology and investments.

Peacekeeping Troops Offered for Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1911215594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic met Italian Foreign Minister Antonio Martino in Turin today. Minister Ljubijankic briefed his host on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and stressed that our goal is not to continue the war but to end it by achieving a balance of arms and a just peace. Minister Martino said that Bosnia-Herzegovina has a moral right to defend itself and that the arms embargo should be lifted.

At the end of the meeting Ljubijankic said that Bosnia-Herzegovina is prepared to provide peacekeeping troops for Nagorno-Karabakh.

Izetbegovic: Europe Creating Islamic State in B-H

MS2111102394 London THE TIMES in English
21 Nov 94 p 12

[Report on interview with President Izetbegovic by Eve-Ann Prentice in Sarajevo; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Izetbegovic of Bosnia has accused Europe of creating an Islamic state in

Bosnia. As he spoke deep within his presidential headquarters in Sarajevo, workmen were still sweeping away the broken glass and rubble left when three 82mm shells slammed into the building.

In a rare interview, Mr Izetbegovic, 69, also spoke of his cool relations with President Tudjman of Croatia, his supposed ally, and about his military plans. Asked to reply to critics who claim he wants to impose an Islamic state in Bosnia, he said: "I would tell them they are either misinformed or malicious.

"I am striving for an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, and an integral Bosnia, since it is multi-ethnic by definition, cannot be an Islamic state. That can only come from a partitioned Bosnia and some European governments are zealously working on partitioning Bosnia. Europe is creating an Islamic state in Bosnia."

The former federal Yugoslav regime twice jailed Mr Izetbegovic: once when he was 20 and accused of belonging to a group of Muslim plotters opposed to Tito, and again in 1983 when he was sentenced to 14 years for "propagating Islamic propaganda". He served more than five years of that sentence before being freed in 1988.

Today the Bosnian president is revered by many on his staff. Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister and one of those most likely to succeed him, went out of his way to express support for him.

Mr Izetbegovic, asked about his relations with Dr Tudjman, replied: "We are completely different persons. Our relations I can describe as cold politeness." This will be especially worrying for America, which earlier this year hammered together the Croat-Muslim alliance as the linch-pin of its Balkan policy.

How is the government-Croat alliance faring? "If you are referring to the actual crisis around Bihac, the alliance is not functioning, since the Croats' hands are tied. They were promised a political solution in Krajina, i.e. UN protected areas, on condition they did not undertake any military action."

On his military strategy now, the president said: "Our strategy is to force, or convince, the Serbs to accept the peaceful solution offered to both us and them. As you know, we have accepted the Contact Group plan; they have rejected it. The war continues and they are to be blamed for it. The peace plan is on the table, but not indefinitely.

"If the Serbs decide to continue the war, our strategy is clear: to launch hundreds of small-scale attacks along the very long confrontation line and to force them to give up their genocide plan. We can do it since we have the manpower."

Then he added: "The war will continue until the Serbs give up their plan for the destruction of Bosnia and the extermination of the Bosnian people. They are the war-lords. They have started the war and they can, if they want, stop it tomorrow."

Silajdzic: Belgrade Supplying Arms, Fuel to Serbs

AU2111111494 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
21 Nov 94 p 142

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by unidentified DER SPIEGEL correspondent; place and date not given: "We are Hostages"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] By deciding to stop monitoring the arms embargo against Bosnia, the United States is opposing the course of the United Nations. Has this diminished the prospects for peace even further?

[Silajdzic] The United Nations has puffed itself up into a paper tiger with double standards. In Bosnia they act like an outpost of the Red Cross, although they ought also to be protecting us militarily. We are the hostages of an organization that is unable to distinguish between victims and perpetrators.

[DER SPIEGEL] Arms are getting into Bosnia despite the embargo. Has the international community been turning a blind eye to the situation for a long time?

[Silajdzic] But what sort of arms? What good are Kalashnikovs when the Serbs have 22,000 artillery shells? This is hogwash? The world is abandoning us.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you fear that the Russians might now feel encouraged to break the embargo against the Serbs?

[Silajdzic] There is nothing, apart from atomic bombs, that the Russians have not supplied to the Serbs, from missiles to volunteers.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are the Bosnian Serbs still being supplied by Serbia, although Belgrade has officially closed the borders?

[Silajdzic] Everything that the Bosnian Serbs need comes across unmonitored border crossings. They are also getting their fuel this way.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you believe that Europe has given up on the Bosnians?

[Silajdzic] The European Union wants to maintain the status quo and legitimize Serbian conquests in Bosnia. That means the Serbs are being given the go-ahead. Their President Milosevic is using tactical measures. Taking small steps, he wants to confront the world with faits accomplis and legitimize forcefully occupied territory by first concluding a confederation with the Srpska republic.

[DER SPIEGEL] Meanwhile the Serbs have reoccupied the area around Bihac. Does this not have a demoralizing effect on your troops?

[Silajdzic] We want to open up connections there, because the UN protection troops are not fulfilling their mandate and our people are starving. And now we are

also being attacked by the Serbs from the Croatian Krajina region, and nobody feels obliged to prevent that. It is very alarming.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Bosnian Army wants to reconquer all the territories where there was a Muslim majority before the war. Does this render the Geneva peace plan invalid?

[Silajdzic] No, by no means. If the Serbs accept it, we will also adhere to it.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Islamic countries are supporting you financially—the more Bosnia professes Islam, the more support you get. The West is concerned about your country's Islamization.

[Silajdzic] We are the ones that have acted in the most civilized way in this war. Yet we are accused of being fundamentalists. If the West sees a danger in the mere presence of mujahidin, this is a message to the millions of Muslims in the world that there is no cooperation, but only confrontation. We are beginning to believe that the world has ulterior motives—that there is a plot aimed at the destruction of Bosnia.

SDA Proposes Elections in 'Foreseeable Future'

*AU1811214194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Bosnia-Herzegovina issued a statement for the public today:

Four stormy years have passed since the holding of the first free multiparty elections, at which the SDA scored considerable electoral success. A lot has changed in Bosnia in the meantime. Bosnia and its citizens have gone through and are still going through grave trials and tribulations. Many truths have surfaced, but many lies too. New political parties have also been formed.

What is the political sentiment of the people? Do the parties that participated in the November 1990 elections enjoy the same, or similar, support of the people today?

Bosnia and our people are faced with fateful decisions regarding the acceptance of peace at all costs or the continuation of the war. A question about the mandates of those authorized to pass such important decisions justly poses itself. Regardless of the state of war and automatic constitutional and legal extensions of mandates, the SDA believes that we should examine the possibility of holding new elections in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In principle, the SDA does not favor the automatic extension of mandates. In this sense, it was concluded at today's session of the party's executive council and on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the elections, that the SDA is ready to put its mandate to the test of the people at the next elections, which should be held in the foreseeable future. The SDA, thus, raises this initiative and calls upon the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, Presidency, and Government to examine it and pass relevant decisions, a statement by the SDA executive council says.

Serb Krajina Air Force Denies Bombing Bihac*LD1811191594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina [SVK] today denied accusations by the UN Protection Forces' [UNPROFOR] representatives in Zagreb that the SVK air force bombed Bihac this morning.

Pointing out that the SVK was not involved in any of the fighting in the Bihac area or Cazin Krajina, the main SVK headquarters expressed the hope that future UNPROFOR reports, as on many occasions so far, will deny claims on the bombing of Bihac by the Krajina air force. [passage omitted]

Mikelic Denies RSK Involvement in Bihac*AU1911220994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement he made for Belgrade Radio after the end of the RSK [republic of Serb Krajina] assembly session, prime minister Borisav Mikelic denied the involvement of the Serb army of Krajina in the fighting around Bihac and commented on the announcement of the possible NATO engagement in RSK territory.

[Begin Mikelic recording] As regards the republic of Serbian Krajina, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]—that is, the international peace forces—is located on or territory. If the international peace forces are here and they say that we are not involved, I do not know how or in what way NATO forces would pound their own peace forces. (?I think that) that would be the first such case in the world.

I offered that if they want, they may have control of Udbina airport—so they can establish control and definitely make sure that we are not involved.

The most important thing to say in my opinion is that the RSK.... [pauses] This is what Croatia—that is, Franjo Tudjman—is trying. I think that this is pressure, on the one hand on what we are doing now with the economic negotiations, and on the other hand in order to justify the concentration of his forces along the border areas as well as those places where he has already let them through. What they want in a way is to defend the Muslim-Croatian Federation because they have lately been (?suppressed) by the 2d Krajina Corps, by the Serbs, and are thereby facing defeat. Since they are facing defeat, which means they will probably lose all of western Bosnia, even the Contact Group's maps may be affected and their attitude toward us may be much more complex than it has been thus far. [end recording]

UN Observers Demanded*LD2011124994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—The information service of the general staff of the Serb

Krajina army today denied a series of Muslim-Croatian allegations regarding alleged participation of the Serb Krajina air force in the internecine Muslim conflicts taking place in the Cazin area.

These allegations, as a communique says, are aimed at dragging the republic of Serb Krajina into the war. The communique adds that the Serb Krajina air force does not have those aircraft at Udbina airfield as described by the Croatian and Muslim media.

In order to prevent further lies and one-sided reporting by some UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members on activities at Udbina airfield, the Serb Krajina army general staff demands deployment of UN military observers at the airfield.

Tudjman Consents to NATO Air Strikes on Serbs*LD1911102494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to UN Security Council President Madeleine Albright late last night, Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman requests that the United Nations end the air raids by Serb rebels from Udbina in the occupied Croatian area, and their threats to use artillery on Bihac from the same Croatian area.

In a letter to NATO Secretary General Willy Claes, President Tudjman stresses that Croatia gives its consent to NATO conducting air raids on the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia in order to end the rebel Serb attacks from those areas.

UN Envoy Calls For Resolution Implementation*LD2011094194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0803 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mario Nobilo, the Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, welcomed the adoption of the resolution which allows NATO to attack Serb targets in Croatia. He said that actions by the rebel Serbs in Croatia can no longer be tolerated, adding that the resolution should be implemented immediately in its entirety.

Martić Reportedly Prepared To 'Bombard' Zagreb*AU2111081194 Paris AFP in English 1937 GMT 20 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Topusko, Croatia, Nov 20 (AFP)—UN forces placed on red alert and secessionist Serb police took up positions here Sunday [20 November] as tensions rose at the prospect of NATO strikes on Serb-held Croatia.

In this town in the self-declared Croatian Serb Krajina region just north of the war-torn Bosnian enclave of Bihac, UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) personnel were on maximum red alert as of 1:00 p.m. (1200 GMT).

UN tanks were deployed around the hotel housing a large proportion of peacekeepers deployed in the sector, while soldiers patrolled around the building and guarded its entrances.

As a counter-measure—or simply by way of precaution—Serb police in camouflage gear and armed with Kalashnikov assault rifles immediately took position in front of the hotel. One of their vehicles prevented a tank from passing.

An unnamed UNPROFOR official told AFP: "The situation is extremely delicate. Everything could spill over into a new war."

The official added that Krajina "president" Milan Martić would consider a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation airstrike on Krajina an act of aggression by Croatia, which Saturday authorised the Atlantic alliance to launch strikes from its territory. Should NATO planes attack, Martić had threatened to bombard the three major Croatian population centres within range of his missiles, namely Zagreb, Karlovac and Sisak.

And should UN soldiers withdraw from Croatia, Martić would have no qualms about taking peacekeepers hostage, the official said. That tactic has already been used on a small scale across the border by his close ally, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić.

The new UNPROFOR and Serb security measures were ordered after Croatian Serb planes out of Udbina airport, southern Krajina, launched air raids Friday and Saturday against the Bihac enclave.

The attacks prompted the UN Security Council late Saturday to give NATO the go-ahead to launch strikes on Krajina, with the Udbina airport runway the likeliest target.

Tightened security measures here Sunday had no apparent impact on fighting in the Bihac pocket, notably around nearby Velika Kladusa, which the Krajina Serbs and rebel Moslems are trying to recapture from Bosnian government forces.

The sound of artillery fire from the clashes there continued to reach Topusko late Sunday afternoon.

Earlier Sunday, Martić's military advisor General Mile Novaković spoke for 15 minutes with General Pierre Peeters, a senior representative of UNPROFOR in Zagreb, officials said, without giving details.

UNPROFOR Troops Placed on 'Alert'

AU2011142994 Paris AFP in English 1333 GMT 20 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Topusko, Croatia, Nov 20 (AFP)—Some 13,000 UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia's Krajina were placed on alert Sunday after the United Nations gave the green light for NATO airstrikes in Serb-controlled region, UN officials said here.

(A UN military official in Zagreb who would not be identified Sunday confirmed the report, saying UN personnel and troops had been put on alert after a decision by senior military officials was made around noon (1100 GMT).

("We recommended they be extremely vigilant today," the official said.)

About 18,000 UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] troops in Bosnia were put on alert earlier Sunday because of threats by angry civilians after Croatian Serb bombing raids on the Bihac enclave. [passage omitted]

All female personnel of the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations were evacuated to Zagreb and troops of the UN Protection Force were consigned to their bases.

The entrance to the UNPROFOR base in Topusko in central Krajina was guarded by an armored carrier and protected by sandbags.

"We fear reprisals by Serbs if NATO launches raids against the Udbina airfield," 60 kilometers south of Bihac, an UNPROFOR official said at the base.

Serb artillery fire hitting the north of the Bihac pocket and notably the town of Velika Kladusa can be heard here but Krajina Serbs have repeatedly denied shelling Bihac.

UNPROFOR General Pierre Peeters of Belgium who met with General Mile Novaković, "national security advisor" to Krajina "president" Milan Martić, Sunday warned Krajina Serbs against any new attacks. [passage omitted]

RSK's Martić Pledges Response to Any Attack

LD1911143494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Milan Martić, the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] told TANJUG today that there would be a military response to any attack against the RSK.

Commenting on [Croatian President] Franjo Tuđman's letter to the Security Council, in which the Croatian president requests the bombing of the RSK, Martić said that any act of violence against the RSK, even if it is the UN Security Council who stands behind it, would be treated as a fresh Croatian aggression and the UN's siding with Croatia.

It is not by accident that these ultimatums are voiced when the RSK government and parliament should pass a decision on the proposed draft agreement on economic relations between the RSK and Croatia, and when the peace process should yield certain results, he said.

Martić stressed that the ultimatums were deliberate attempts to weaken the RSK's negotiating position in order to force the RSK negotiating team to accept the unacceptable.

Speaking about the fresh accusations of alleged bombing of Bihac by aircraft belonging to the Serb army of Krajina, Martić reiterated the RSK's readiness to accept international observers who would remove any doubt of such arbitrary claims.

On this occasion again, I will reiterate our readiness to accept military observers at Udbina airport in order to remove all dilemmas as to our alleged interference into the inter-Muslim clashes around Bihac, the RSK president specified.

RSK Rejects Economic Cooperation Agreement

LD1811150994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—At a session in Vukovar last night the government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] rejected the draft agreement on economic cooperation with Croatia offered by the international community, journalists were told today in the office of RSK foreign minister Milan Babić.

I must say that six chapters of the draft agreement contain eight important points, which we cannot accept under any circumstances without certain corrections, Babić explained in a statement distributed to journalists.

The statement specifies that the draft agreement envisages that the Serbs in the RSK should lose their property on their own land because the Croats would take over water supply systems, electric installations, and roads in the whole of Krajina.

RSK Assembly OK's Economic Talks With Croatia

LD1911211394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session in Vukovar today, the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] assembly lent its full support to the government and to its delegation representing Krajina at the negotiations with the Republic of Croatia on economic issues.

In a unanimously endorsed resolution, the Krajina delegation was tasked with consistently protecting the RSK's integrity, sovereignty, and equality in negotiations with Croatia. [passage omitted]

"Further developments primarily depend on the attitude of the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia to our objections. We are suggesting that we meet them in Knin on 24 November and examine contentious issues. Of course, earlier contacts are likely if the co-chairmen should wish it. In any case, we will be cooperative, but we cannot go below the line which would be to the detriment of the Serb people in Krajina," Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelić said immediately before the close of the session today.

According to him, the negotiations have been made considerably more difficult by the fact that the Croatian side has not respected the provisions of the Zagreb cease-fire agreement. In many places, particularly around Pakrac and other places in western Slavonia, Mikelić said, the Croatian Army has reached the separation line which the Zagreb agreement explicitly forbids. Therefore, the Krajina government will ask Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, to make sure that the Croatian side fully abides by the Zagreb agreement.

By an overwhelming majority of votes Krajina deputies today adopted a decision to relieve Ilija Prijić from the post of minister of internal affairs. [passage omitted]

The assembly also adopted a decision to appoint Prijić's assistant, Nebojša Pavković, acting minister of internal affairs until a new minister is elected.

Deputies to the Krajina assembly today unanimously upheld the government's initiative that the rebuilding of Vukovar, as the economically strongest part of the republic, be given absolute priority.

Mikelić Outlines Objections to UN Agreement

LD1911181294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—At the third session of the second regular sitting of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Borislav Mikelić, Krajina prime minister, said that a draft agreement on economic issues with Croatia that was put forward by the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia—Owen and Stoltenberg—was a good starting point for further talks, but the Serb side had a number of serious objections to it.

Owen and Stoltenberg were sent a letter containing objections that were adopted by the RSK government and were announced by Mikelić at the session today.

The first essential objection is that Krajina cannot accept that once the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway is reopened, its section running through western Slavonija will be controlled by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] alone, without any participation of the Serb police.

It was explained that this would represent the negation of Krajina's sovereignty over that part of its territory; therefore, it has been demanded that control be carried out jointly by Serb policemen and UNPROFOR and that the same thing be done with the part of the motorway controlled by Croatia.

The second essential objection to the draft agreement that was sent to the cochairman refers to the provision that UNPROFOR will not allow the transport of goods for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic on the motorway.

Mikelic said the republic of Serb Krajina government demanded this provision to be fully omitted from the agreement, especially as it was never even mentioned in Zagreb.

Owen and Stoltenberg were submitted another eight objections linked with the reopening of the Yugoslav oil pipeline and with water and electricity supplies.

Mikelic described these objections as being "more of a technical", i.e. formal nature.

Milan Babic, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, set the tone for today's assembly debate on objections to the draft economic agreement with Croatia.

He described the draft agreement as a "noose which Krajina would put round its own neck if it accepted it," leaving Croatia a possibility to "tighten the noose whenever it wishes."

The assembly adjourned the session at 1500 so that conclusions linked with the objections to the draft economic agreement with Croatia could be formulated.

The deputies will, in accordance with the agenda, also vote on the initiative for the dismissal of RSK interior minister Ilija Prijic.

Abdic Seen Arriving at RSK 'Interior Ministry'

AU2111094894 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT
21 Nov 94

[Report by Victoria Stegic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vojnic, Croatia, Nov 21 (AFP)—Fikret Abdic, the renegade Moslem warlord, was preparing Monday [21 November] to stage a triumphal re-entry into his former stronghold of Velika Kladusa, in the north of the embattled Bosnian enclave of BiHac.

As his Serb-backed army of 6,000 men battled to retake the town from Bosnian Government forces, the millionaire businessman arrived at the rebel Serb "interior ministry" here and told waiting reporters he was "too busy" to give interviews.

Local radio serving the 20,000 Moslem refugees who fled with Abdic last August after government troops quashed his rebellion has been predicting the imminent fall of Velika Kladusa since Abdic irregulars gained control of heights overlooking the centre of the town last Friday.

Abdic himself has been impossible to trace, and foreign reporters have caught only rare glimpses of him arriving at his office flanked by uniformed Serb militiamen.

Townpeople refuse blankly to reveal where he is living, and only the "deputy interior minister" of the self-proclaimed Serb republic of Krajina [RSK]—himself difficult to track down—offers occasionally to serve as intermediary.

A UN Protection Forces official complained Monday that he had been trying for days to make official contact with the rebel Moslem leader.

Local officials say Abdic will speak to reporters "when he regains control of Velika Kladusa."

Reports reaching here from the besieged town were contradictory, with UN observers saying the Bosnian 5th Corps were defending bitterly in what could become a drawn-out battle of attrition. Some positions around the town have changed hands on several occasions, they said.

Pro-Abdic refugees in the region have been packing and unpacking their bags with every swing in fortunes reported from the battlefield, the distant thunder of whose guns can be heard here.

Tudjman Adviser: B-H Alliance 'Imperative'

AU1411144894 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian
4 Nov 94 pp 5,7,8

[Interview with General Antun Tus, formerly chief of the Croatian Army Supreme Headquarters and now military advisor to President Franjo Tudjman, by GLOBUS editor Davor Butkovic; place and date not given: "We Missed the Chance of the Military Option To Liberate Croatia in 1992!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Army General Antun Tus is one of our most admirable war heroes. Gen. Tus, as head of the Croatian Army Supreme Headquarters, took command of the Armed Forces in September 1991, when the aggression against Croatia was at its height. Under his command, National Guard units and various volunteer units grew into a mighty army of as many as 250,000 men in only three months after Tus took over. Furthermore, after Tus took over as head of Supreme Headquarters, Croatia did not lose a single major town except Vukovar, though Gen. Bobetko, present head of the Headquarters, thinks that this "broke the spine of the Croatian Army." Gen. Tus left the Supreme Headquarters in autumn 1992 to become a military advisor to the Croatian president. He has mostly been involved in cooperating with international military and security organizations and with questions of Croatia's defense. For several weeks now, Tus has no longer been a member of the Council for Defense and National Security.*

[Butkovic] What is Croatia's role in the security system of central Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean? Do NATO and other important international organizations count on Croatia as an important partner?

[Tus] Considering its geopolitical position, Croatia belongs to Central Europe and the Mediterranean region. Both of those components oblige the most important regional and world protagonists to include Croatia in the process of establishing peace and security.

But I must point out that the interests of certain important countries, for instance the NATO members, are quite different from those of Croatia. Those interests depend on the size and the power of a particular country, but we can unfortunately not disregard former alliances that are still likely to influence the fulfillment of obligations of the major Western countries to countries in this region. This particularly refers to the Small Entente and to the Triple Entente, as well as to the results of World War I and World War II.

It is clear that the interests that Great Britain, France, Russia, the United States, and Germany take in our region are not the same. Other major countries, Italy and Turkey for example, also have special interests in this region.

Therefore, Croatia must play a decisive role in questions regarding our national security. We must be more involved in processes concerning regional and general security in Europe and the Mediterranean.

In the past couple of years, the geopolitical situation in Europe has changed. Europe is no longer divided into west and east. There is a high level of global security, especially regarding nuclear world war, but on the other hand, there is more regional instability and active centers of war.

Those advocating the lasting end to hostilities in this region, i.e. a juster solution to this war, are more likely to prevail than those who do not want to distinguish between the aggressor and the victim and want to end the war by preserving the present situation and the status quo indefinitely. Those are supporters of Greater Serbia. At any rate, if the results of the aggression are accepted, this region will continue to be the source of war and instability in Europe for a long time. I do not think I need to elaborate on this. This conclusion is based on the obvious expansion of the Serbian nation in this region and on the struggle for survival and independence of the Croats, the Muslim Bosniaks, the Slovenes, and the Macedonians.

[Butkovic] Do people in charge of Croatian national security consider a danger of the possible expansion of some other countries at the expense of Croatian territory?

[Tus] Throughout history, Croatian territory has been invaded from several sides, including the territorial aspirations of Italy and Hungary of certain times. However, in the past 50 years, Croatia has managed to regain areas in the north-west but lost and is still losing areas in the east and south-east. Croatian territory is continuously being taken away by its eastern neighbors and Croatia must put an end to that.

Croatia's main threat is coming and will come from the east, but I strongly disagree with those who claim that the Muslims are also a threat to Croatia.

[Butkovic] Do Croatian strategists consider there to be any potential dangers from the west, from Slovenia and Italy, since some Italian and Slovene politicians have been expressing open territorial claims on Croatian territory?

[Tus] In my opinion, the statements of the politicians whom you mention are irresponsible and irrelevant to the state policies of the two countries. Regarding the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, there is no danger of war from Italy, Slovenia, or Hungary.

Quite the contrary, we must cooperate with our neighbors to lay the groundwork for joint protection from potential dangers from other countries.

[Butkovic] What does Croatia expect and what can it get from cooperation with Western military and security organizations such as NATO?

[Tus] Since Croatia wants and must join Western economic and political organizations, it is normal that it wants to join military organizations as well. It is, therefore, in the best interest of Croatia to accept NATO's Partnership for Peace program as the interim solution within whose framework we will coordinate our defense concept and military doctrine, achieve democratic control over our armed forces and defense systems, and raise the level of training and equipment of our armed forces to ensure the successful defense of our country as well as for its inclusion in Partnership for Peace. Neutrality is not a solution for Croatia today, considering its aggressive surroundings.

[Butkovic] Is it in Croatia's interest to become a country-base for NATO? I am referring to the possibility of lending air and naval bases or becoming a part of joint military arrangements, such as a unified system of air surveillance.

[Tus] Let me point out that we do not intend to shift the responsibility for Croatia's defense to NATO or to any other international security system, but want to use our defense potential and important geostrategic location, in addition to our own defense system, to contribute to the security of the region. Consequently, corresponding military and defense organizations come naturally.

[Butkovic] You have not answered my question: Is Croatia prepared to provide territory for NATO naval and air bases or some other international military organization?

[Tus] NATO forces are national forces of each single member country, which come under joint command when performing missions.

Croatia, too, with its military forces and with its territory, must participate, given the permission of the Croatian Parliament, in solving security problems in our region. If a crisis in the Balkans needs to be settled, Croatia will—of course, once it becomes a member of

some of military organizations—contribute its potential, i.e. a part of its army and its territory, to serve that military and political organization, be it NATO, the WEU [Western European Union] or something else. However, we are not talking about the classic lending of territory for military bases, but about our participation in NATO or some other similar organization.

[Butkovic] With which countries should Croatia cooperate with most closely?

[Tus] Naturally, those will be our neighboring countries. First of all Bosnia-Herzegovina, then Hungary, Slovenia, and Italy. Those countries and Croatia should turn the western part of southeastern Europe into a high-security and stable region.

As well as with our neighbors, we must also cooperate with all countries in Europe and the Mediterranean, and with other countries whose interests we share.

In the long run, we will be more interested in cooperation with the Mediterranean countries, in order to share the responsibility for the stability of the region and secure safe traffic in the Mediterranean.

[Butkovic] Will Croatia initiate the forming of an "anti-Serb military coalition?" Are we interested in military cooperation with all countries surrounding Serbia and toward which Serbia has territorial aspirations or which have strained relations with Serbia? I am not only referring to Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to Albania and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia].

[Tus] The Croats and the Bosniaks did not cause this war. They are victims of the aggression of the JNA [Yugoslav Peoples Army] and Serbia, which did not achieve its main goal, and that is why they must continue to develop their defense. Let us remember that the Serbs already started spreading west and north in past centuries, they crossed the Sava and the Danube, and that they have been spreading westward ever since. Serbia, as the largest nation, wants to rule the region; its state policy continues to fulfill their yearning to annex areas that the Serbs populated several centuries ago. All countries whose territory is endangered by Serbia must stand up to that and establish a balance of forces, leading to peace for all of us in the region.

If we had had the support of major Western countries at the beginning of the war, and if they had insisted on a concerted, determined resistance to the Serbian aggression, their aggression would have been thwarted at the first onset. In June 1991, Croatia did not support Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, several months later, did not support Croatia. The problem lies in the imbalance of powers.

I am convinced that we must create a counterbalance to the strongest and the most aggressive nation in this region. Since we cannot get more weapons for Croatia and the other neighbors of Serbia, reducing the amount

of weapons in Serbia and forming a joint defense alliance, as well as a defense agreement with Bosnia-Herzegovina, will definitely be the right counterbalance.

It is important to realize that Serbia will continue to be a threat to all of its neighbors. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, it became a landlocked country that wants to gain access to the sea at all costs. Consequently, an almost peaceful solution is definitely not a lasting solution. Serbia will continue to try to expand and we must do everything to establish a balance of power regarding Serbia. If all those countries fight Serbia individually, such a balance will not be achieved. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia simply must be together and the same goes for Slovenia, Macedonia, and Albania.

We must create such a balance of power so as to prevent any possible future aggression, with the goal of gaining access to the sea for Serbia.

[Butkovic] Regarding what you have just said, cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia is extremely important. How can Bosnia-Herzegovina help Croatia? What should military cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia include?

[Tus] Bosnia-Herzegovina, geostrategically speaking, connects the two ends of the Croatian horse-shoe [shape of Croatia]: Slavonia and Dalmatia. The main southern traffic route from the Adriatic leads through the Neretva and Bosna valleys to Osijek and beyond to Budapest and Central Europe.

Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina make an integral geostrategic whole, which is extremely important for the security of the Republic of Croatia. That fact, for example, changes the strategic depth of the Croatian territory.

What does that mean? Well, the shape of our country results both in a strategic and tactical lack of security with regard to possible aggression against our territory. Our main communication routes pass by the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, the highway and railroad near the Sava are in a tactically precarious location and are exposed to artillery attacks, i.e. they need protection from the Bosnian side.

The second main route, the Adriatic highway, is also close to the Bosnia-Herzegovina border. It can be successfully defended only if it is not attacked from the other side, which means that Bosnia-Herzegovina must not be a potential enemy of Croatia.

Apart from the fact that, in case of bad relations with Bosnia or in case Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided, our main traffic routes can be endangered, our towns, from Dubrovnik to Osijek, would also be in great danger, as well as key industrial centers.

We also have a very long land border, about 2,000 km, whose longest part is the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina. The entire territory of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina can be successfully and mutually defended.

Such cooperation will prevent the cutting off of parts of our territory, such as Dalmatia and Slavonia, and especially the part near Zagreb, at Karlovac, the so called "Karlovac gate."

Consequently, it is imperative for Croatia to establish close cooperation with Bosnia-Herzegovina. Security of the Republic of Croatia depends on cooperation. Without Bosnia-Herzegovina, our horse-shoe shaped territory is both in tactical and strategic danger.

[Butkovic] But the Croats were at war with Bosnia-Herzegovina for a year. Do you think Bosnia-Herzegovina can again become the enemy of the Republic of Croatia or of Croatian areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tus] No, I hope that this will never happen again. The state interests of the Republic of Croatia and the vital interests of the Bosniaks and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina simply do not allow it. Furthermore, our interdependence must be crowned by a corresponding intergovernmental cooperation with a clear defense program.

The misdeeds of 1993 must be corrected as soon as possible. We must remember 1992, when victims cooperated in fighting against the aggressor. For instance, in the first six months of 1992, concerted activity cut off the corridor through Posavina.

[Butkovic] Was the withdrawal from the corridor a result of a political decision or military reasons?

[Tus] Both. The Serbs certainly did everything to resume control of the corridor, as it was the main route connecting Belgrade and Knin and since all other routes toward the west were impassable. The other important route for the Serbs is through the Drina valley. They have not managed properly to secure any of the two routes to this very day. That means that they still have not realized their strategic goals. The only two goals that have not yet been realized are Sarajevo and the access to the Neretva and the Adriatic.

However, let me go back to your question. It is true that the Serbs, because of the importance of the corridor, concentrated their forces in Posavina, but it is also true that there was a political decision, probably from abroad, not to defend the corridor. That decision is connected to some greater strategic and political moves. At that time, in the summer of 1992, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] of Herceg-Bosna and Posavina was in fierce political turmoil, which undermined the previously successful and well-organized forces of the Posavina HVO. However, the fact remains that some political decisions were definitely not in the general interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an integral state, or in the long-term military and strategic interests of the Republic of Croatia.

[Butkovic] Would you comment on the consequences of the Croat-Muslim war with regard to the security and defense of the Republic of Croatia?

[Tus] I have already made the most important point. I must emphasize that many Muslim-Croats and Bosniaks fought in this war in the uniforms of the Croatian Army. Today, after two years, we see that I was right, that we should have defeated the Serbian aggressor in Bosnia-Herzegovina and liberated the occupied Croatian areas in 1992. I am convinced that it was then that we should have defeated the Serbs, both in Bosnia and in Croatia, that it was then that we should have liberated the occupied areas in Croatia.

[Butkovic] Why 1992?

[Tus] Because the Croatian Army was at its strongest toward the end of 1991 and early in 1992! Morale was high; all Croats were united in a just patriotic war. All Croats—in Croatia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and throughout the world—were prepared to do absolutely everything to defend Croatia. Having stopped the enemy's advances already in December 1991, we regained most of western Slavonia and the south of Dalmatia in 1992.

At that time, there were 250,000 soldiers in the Croatian Army and 40,000 men in the Ministry of Interior. We also had the necessary weapons seized from the enemy: about 250 tanks, 150 armored personnel carriers, more than 400 heavy artillery pieces of over 100-mm in caliber, a number of combat aircraft and helicopters, and about 20 warships.

On the other hand, regardless of its technological potential, the JNA was simply falling apart. Exactly because of the state of the JNA, we were stronger and had gained the strategic advantage early in 1992! Serbia would have had to call a large-scale general mobilization to be able to match our human potential. However, today, even Kadijevic himself admits that he could not get enough soldiers. After Vukovar, the Serbs could not advance any more, and we were getting stronger by the day. Eastern Slavonia broke all their major forces, so that Serbia was unable to move further. More than 200,000 young conscripts left Serbia at that time!

Serbia did not achieve its goal in Croatia: It did not conquer Croatia, which was its main objective, and it did not reach as far as the Virovitica-Karlovac-Karlobag line, which was its national goal. At that point, Serbia decided to hold on to what it had already conquered in Croatia and move on to conquer Bosnia-Herzegovina. Before the outbreak of the war in Bosnia, the Serbs had paused for six months, and neither we nor the Bosniaks took advantage of that.

In order to attack Bosnia, the Serbs had to disband the inefficient JNA and create a new Bosnian army with about 50,000 Serbs from the former JNA. They were also forming armies in Serbia and in occupied areas of Croatia.

The JNA openly gave the army in Bosnia-Herzegovina a couple of hundred tanks and armored transporters, several hundred artillery pieces, a fleet of aircraft and helicopters, as well as surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missile systems.

It was not until June 1992 that they launched their offensive on Posavina. At that time, the HVO was near Kotori, at Doboj. All their communication lines were cut.

That period, when the Serbs were forming new armies and when they were not capable of carrying out major military operations, was the ideal time for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, with the help of the international community, to defeat the Serbian aggressor.

The disastrous conflict between the Croats and the Muslims in 1993 prevented the two nations from doing just that.

[Butkovic] Did you resign from your position as head of Croatian Army Supreme Headquarters in autumn 1992 as a result of a political decision not to strike back at the Serbs?

[Tus] The international community kept forcing Croatia to agree to cease-fires—there were 15 of them—and to a peaceful solution to the conflict. The Croatian leadership had to take that into account. And that is why Croatia opted for a peaceful integration of its occupied areas, although it could have won them back militarily in 1992. I believe that the international recognition of Croatia of 15 February 1992 was a crucial factor, which turned the scale in favor of relinquishing the military option and accepting a peaceful, UN-brokered integration of the occupied Croatian areas.

I thought it necessary to defeat the Serbs militarily, since the peaceful option would postpone the solving of the problem of the occupied areas. Unfortunately, it has turned out that I was right. I also thought that the Serbian aggressor had to be defeated in cooperation with the Bosniaks. That was also rejected. Was that the only reason?

Today, we have a status quo, a frozen situation, a state of neither war nor peace in our occupied areas. Croatia can no longer resort to full-scale military operations to liberate all its occupied areas. We do not need more victims, destruction, and other consequences of an all-out war on our territory, especially not at a time when we can achieve our goal without war. We missed our military chances, and we must prepare for new ones, if they are necessary.

[Butkovic] Why is a military action out of the question at the moment?

[Tus] First of all, let me say that I am convinced that, today, Croatia could liberate its occupied areas, including Slavonia and Baranja. Of course, there would

be heavy casualties. It is estimated that such an operation would result in several thousand dead and three times as many wounded soldiers. However, we must realize that Yugoslavia would openly intervene in that case, which would lead to all-out war with Yugoslavia. Furthermore, we must be aware that Croatia is on the brink of being integrated into international organizations, which would lead to economic prosperity. And that is why military operations would be counter-productive at this time. The reaction of the international community would be even fiercer than two years ago and even more harmful for Croatia. Furthermore, from the military point of view, the action would have to be much more complex with a high risk of turning into an all-out and protracted war.

[Butkovic] Does that mean that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] will remain in Croatia for many years, that this is a better solution for Croatia?

[Tus] It is important that UNPROFOR should start implementing the UN resolutions that militate toward solving the problem of the occupied Croatian areas, such as Resolution 769 on monitoring the state borders of Croatia. Such a role for UNPROFOR is acceptable to Croatia.

[Butkovic] But what if UNPROFOR continues to behave as it has so far?

[Tus] This kind of behavior is unacceptable to Croatia, which means that we will have to liberate occupied parts of Croatia little by little.

[Butkovic] You mean the military option after all, even though the circumstances are not right?

[Tus] In the worst-case scenario, yes. But we must be realistic. UNPROFOR will not pull out of Croatia in March next year. If we had defeated the Serbs in 1992, which was feasible at the time, we would have been able to liberate most of the occupied Croatian areas that same year. Unfortunately, now we are facing a much more difficult situation.

[Butkovic] You keep stressing the correlation between the situation in Croatia and that in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Would you tell us your vision of a possible solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tus] Apart from the military option, there are two peaceful options or, better yet, there are two possible approaches to a peaceful solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

One of them would suit Serbia. I am talking about creating the status quo in Bosnia, which could be done if international forces are deployed between the warring factions, as happened in Croatia.

Such a solution would slow down or totally prevent the Serbs from withdrawing, even from areas from which they are supposed to pull out according to the Contact Group plan. The solution would lay the groundwork for

the creation of several states in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Consequently, it would ultimately lead to the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The solution would actually be modeled on the present situation in Croatia, and none of us is satisfied with it. That is a very realistic but very unfavorable option, which would prolong the negotiation process indefinitely, result in lifting the sanctions imposed on Serbia, and force all three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina to keep their own armed forces, i.e. lead to the division of Bosnia. And the division of Bosnia would have far-reaching consequences for Croatia, both owing to the geostrategic factors that I have already mentioned and because it would enable the Serbs to penetrate further into Croatia and especially toward the Adriatic.

Such an option would enable the existence of several states within one state.

Furthermore, it would lead to a prolonged crisis, even to war, since neither the Croats nor the Bosniaks would accept the status quo. Rather, they would break cease-fires and occasionally resort to military operations to regain parts of their territory, as is being done already.

Finally, the entire region, i.e. the Republic of Croatia as well, would be in economic and communications isolation because of the a high level of danger. During the isolation, Greater Serbia would gradually expand. And we would not be able to do much about it.

Therefore, such a peaceful option based on the status quo and the freezing of the present situation is totally unacceptable for both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The second peaceful option actually boils down to the implementation of the Contact Group plan, which is not just, but is acceptable. That is a slightly less feasible option, for the Serbs will agree to it only if they are forced to. Serbia must be exposed not only to economic sanctions but also to military pressure in order to accept the Contact Group plan. Serbia must not be allowed to support Serbian forces in Bosnia in any way. The same, of course, holds for Serbian forces in Croatia.

Moreover, the mandate of the UN forces must be defined so as to enable them to implement the Contact Group plan. That means that they must have more authority to act and be prepared to fight. International forces should literally force the Serbs to withdraw to those areas assigned to them according to the plan. UNPROFOR cannot do that at present. NATO forces, together with the United States, might be able to do it.

After implementing the Contact Group plan, the international community could take control of the region on the model of the international administration of Mostar, and the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be to a large extent demilitarized.

That is the only way to preserve the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, though its internal organization would be extremely complex. Greater Serbian expansionist goals would thus be thwarted.

The third option is, of course, military in character. It is important to say that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina have definitely lost their strategic initiative and will not be able to regain it without Serbia.

[Butkovic] On this point, could you comment on the importance of the latest military successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army near Bihac, at Kupres, and in Posavina?

[Tus] In the long-run, the Serbs do not stand a chance in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They can continue destroying towns, but in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, people are more important than military technology. And the Bosniaks and Croats are much stronger in terms of manpower than the Serbs, i.e. the Serbs cannot defend the area that they have conquered. They do not hold a single safe traffic route, they do not have any sound logistical support. They do not have enough fuel to sustain a large army, nor do they have a strong enough industrial potential in Bosnia-Herzegovina to meet their needs.

On the other hand, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has grown much stronger and is better equipped. They heavily outnumber the Serbian forces, especially together with the HVO.

Furthermore, the Bosnian forces are concentrated in a small area, they are better grouped, and have a positional advantage on the already determined and well chosen front line. Consequently, the elastic maneuvering of the Bosnian forces and good choices of the line of assault, designed to penetrate the aggressor's weakest point, are bound to pay off.

Those victories not only boost the morale of the Bosniak army and their people, but they also provide a genuine strategic advantage over the Serbs. The Serbs did not achieve their goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina, either, they did not conquer all of its towns, its roads, its power industry, or its industrial plants, and they are no longer capable of new conquests, for both political and military reasons, and they are not a threat to the 5th Corps in western Bosnia.

From the military perspective, the Serbs are utterly dissatisfied because they do not have clear communication lines between east and west through Posavina, nor clear communications between north and south through the Drina valley. Moreover, they have absolutely no access to the south, toward the coast. Instead of attacking those lines, they are now forced to defend themselves and are trying to reach the Neretva near Konjic.

They want to concentrate most of their major forces on defending vital areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Posavina corridor and the Una River line are their two most critical points. And that is why they are now regrouping their forces for the forthcoming major operation in west Bosnia, which they will definitely carry out.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army took advantage of that regrouping of the Serbian forces and launched another offensive to improve their strategic position before the winter and to defend Bihac.

[Butkovic] Can the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cut the Posavina corridor over the next couple of months?

[Tus] If the Serbs do not cut off Tuzla to the south near Ozren, on the line connecting Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla, i.e. if the Serbs do not cut the line near Olovo and Kladanj, the corridor can be closed when the decision is so made. The Tuzla basin, together with the Zenica basin, is so strong that it can concentrate forces on the Doboj-Brcko line that the Bosnian Serbs, without help from the Yugoslav Army, cannot match without becoming passive on some front lines.

As regards the HVO forces, they should play a decisive role at crucial moments, and not only in cutting the corridor.

[Butkovic] As for the HVO, a couple of days ago the commander of the 7th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army made a formal request that they be involved in fighting the Serbs at Kupres. Do you think that the HVO should become active there and what would the importance be of direct HVO involvement?

[Tus] As a professional soldier, I can say that the breaking of the Croat-Muslim alliance, which took place during the unfortunate Croat-Muslim war, can best be atoned for in a joint operation against the aggressor. I see no reason why the HVO should not support Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units at Kupres or elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That support is particularly important in western Bosnia. Considering the area that they lost, the Croats are the big losers in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now we no longer have the time or space to think about whether or not to join the Muslims. We simply have to. The same goes for the corresponding military deployment and concrete joint military operations. Should the HVO support the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army at Kupres and in their defense of Bihac, that would be the greatest possible support for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Washington Agreements. Such a move would also have enormous military significance, as the Croats have a stake in the Kupres area.

[Butkovic] General Tus, you were personally involved in the forming of the Croatian Army and now you are a military advisor to the Croatian president. What takes priority in the development of the Croatian Army? Is there a strategy of organization and development of the Croatian Army?

[Tus] As early as 1992, we prepared a document on the main guidelines for the development of the Croatian Army, which has never been made public, of course. The document specifies the direction of development of the Croatian Army and the strategy of Croatian defense,

which is composed of two parts: The first concerns the organization of the armed forces, and the second concerns the involvement of Croatian economic and other potentials in preparing defense, most of which, at least on the level of military production, is implemented according to needs.

[Butkovic] There have been objections to Croatian military production. What should Croatia produce and what should it import?

[Tus] Croatia must master the production of strategic materials, such as gunpowder, explosives, fuel, special-purpose steel, ammunition for all kinds of small arms, and most kinds of artillery shells and mines. We have already mastered the production of anti-armor, anti-air, and anti-ship missile systems, as well as some armored technology and artillery. We must not depend on imported ammunition and basic materials and spares in a possible war situation. Approximately 200,000 armed men in a state of war requiring 10 bullets a day means 2 million bullets per day of combat for the infantry alone.

Furthermore, I do not see why some of our factories, such as the Sisak Iron and Steel Works, should not produce special-purpose steel for artillery barrels, instead of importing it. We must also rely on the significant military-industry potential of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia-Herzegovina was home to 41 percent of the former Yugoslavia's military industry, while Croatia had only 8 percent. Yet another reason to support a military alliance with Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As for more sophisticated projects such as the production of tanks, which, as we know, used to be assembled in Siavonski Brod, we have two options. If it is decided that Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina need 400 tanks each, the money should be invested to restore production and stimulate technological research.

If we need only 100 tanks each, it simply does not pay to invest in research, but it pays to modernize the present production capacities.

However, with regard to more sophisticated weapons, it is important for Croatia to act as a manufacturing associate, to participate with, say, 20 percent in the production of a particular kind of weapon, i.e. not to be just an importer.

We should import only technology that we cannot produce at all, or in the production of which we cannot participate. Let me point out that I do not advocate the development of a special military-industry complex in Croatia, but the restructuring of some industrial capacities so as to meet the needs of our army with about 10, 15, or 20 percent of their production capacity. Croatia's industry is capable of this.

[Butkovic] Does the Croatian Army have a unified chain of command?

[Tus] Legally speaking, yes. The Croatian president is the supreme commander of the Croatian Army and the head of the Supreme Headquarters reports to him. In reality, the situation is slightly different, since some services at the Defense Ministry—such as the military police, the Information and Security Service, or the Supply Administration, and others—cooperate with both the Defense Ministry and the Supreme Headquarters, so that there are actually two chains of command.

[Butkovic] What about the unit called the 1st Guard Corps?

[Tus] The 1st Guard Corps reports neither to the Supreme Headquarters nor to the Defense Ministry, but is under the direct command of the Croatian president. However, it is important to say that several chains of command are a consequence of the development of the Croatian Army in time of war and in semi-war, and that, on the battlefield, all units report exclusively to the Supreme Headquarters.

[Butkovic] Do you agree that the Croatian Army has too many generals?

[Tus] Reserve generals are clearly the result of political decisions and I do not want to comment on this. As for active generals, we must consider the circumstances during the development of the Croatian Army. Some people were rewarded for their merit with promotion.

Once those men were given higher rank, equally meritorious people from all the other areas had to be promoted as well. However, those are honorary, reserve ranks. I think there are too few active generals in the Croatian Army.

All this is a consequence of war. I hope that those uneducated officers who acquired experience during the war, but do not have the necessary military education and wish to hold on to their high ranks, will get the required education. If they do not, they will have to withdraw from active duty.

[Butkovic] Why are you no longer a member of the presidential Council for Defense and National Security?

[Tus] As you know, I am no longer in charge of the situation in the Croatian Army, but of contacts with international military organizations in the field of defense and security. I am also involved in general strategic defense problems and in the development of the Croatian Army. Members of the new Council for Defense and National Security are high state officials whose positions in parliament, government, and the Croatian Army enable them to perform functions in the field of state security and defense in order to carry out the wishes and decisions in all structures of the state and the ruling party. I think that this is acceptable.

Gligorov: FYROM To Establish Ties to FRY

LD1911201594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], said this evening that his state is prepared to establish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and expressed the hope that the two neighbors will recognize each other soon.

At the constituent session of the Macedonian parliament, Gligorov said that "it is regrettable that the Republic of Macedonia and the FRY have still not recognized each other."

"We believe that mutual recognition will take place soon and that diplomatic relations will be established," Gligorov said. [passage omitted]

Chief of Staff To Visit Tirana 20 Nov

LD1811215594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 18 Nov 94

[By Goran Opacic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Nov. 18 (TANJUG)—Chief of Staff of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] Dragoljub Bocinov leaves Sunday [20 November] for a brief working visit to Albania, the FYROM Defense Ministry said Friday. The statement said General Bocinov would be visiting Albanian troops and military facilities. Skopje expects the two countries to discuss military cooperation and the situation on the border that is considered to be the "leakiest" in Europe. The pro-government press in Skopje has been reporting for a month past about numerous illegal border crossings by Albanians into the FYROM. However, ahead of Bocinov's trip, the Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA on

Friday carried a statement by the Defense Ministry to the effect that the local press had been exaggerating. Skopje and Tirana military officials last met in the summer, when Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali visited Skopje. Nothing has been said to this day about the results of the visit, which Zhulali used to hold informal closed-door meetings with ethnic Albanian leaders in the FYROM. At the time of elections in the FYROM in October, the official media in Tirana were openly supporting the ethnic Albanian radical nationalist parties and factions and urging ethnic Albanians to give them their vote. According to official results of a census held last summer, there are about 443,000 ethnic Albanians in the FYROM, or 22.9 percent of the total population. The ethnic Albanian parties, which had demanded that the census be taken, claim that the ethnic Albanian community in the FYROM is twice that large.

Ethnic Albanians Reject Population Census Results

LD1811174894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The leading Albanian party in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Party of Democratic Prosperity of Macedonia [PDP], considers the recently published population census results to be null and void. As the pro-government Skopje press today reported from Tetovo, the seat of the PDP, Albanian political leaders have declared the census "unobjective, incomplete, and invalid." [passage omitted]

According to the census, there are 443,000 Albanians currently living in Macedonia—about 23 percent of the total population. Albanian parties, particularly the radical ones, claim that this figure is almost double. The results of the census, carried out under international "supervision", have also been disputed by the Democratic Party of Serbs.

Peterle Views Events, Party, Croat Relations

*AU2111112994 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in
Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 94 pp 10-11*

[Interview with Lojze Peterle, former deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by Vlado Zagorac; place and date not given: "Drnovsek Closer and Closer to Jelincic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lojze Peterle (46), Slovene deputy prime minister and foreign minister, carried out the foreign policy in Prime Minister Drnovsek's cabinet for over 20 months. The recent complications in relations between Slovenia and Italy, related to stopping Slovenia on the road toward the European Union, in which minister Peterle personally played an active role, have created the impression that this was the reason he has left diplomacy. However, the fact is that, dissatisfied with the fact that the leader of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS], Jozef Skolc, was appointed new prime minister, Peterle submitted his unconditional resignation, beginning 1 November.

Two days before that, the congress of Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD], the second largest Slovene parliamentary party, reappointed Peterle as their president. As head of the party that has 34,000 members and 15 representatives in the 90-member parliament, Peterle is now insisting that the SKD leave the coalition in power and thus confirm that it is continuing its active role on the Slovene political scene. During the time he was foreign minister, Peterle regularly emphasized the need for developing good relations with the neighboring countries as a constant of Slovene politics.

[Zagorac] What is your global assessment of Slovenia's position toward Croatia during the time you were in charge of Slovene foreign policy? What was achieved? What could have been achieved, and what is missing?

[Peterle] It was my intention to settle the open issues with Croatia as soon as possible, to find the solution for the important open issues, such as the Ljubljanska Banka one, the one concerning the state border, and the nuclear power plant in Krsko. I am glad that we reached at least the five agreements that settle quite a few things, but I am sorry that more solutions have not been found. I think it should be in the strategic interest of both countries that mutual relations be improved as soon as possible. I would say that it is not possible to improve these relations through continual insistence on the same starting points. What we should do is find compromises and behave in the interest of the state, rather than only in the interests of daily politics. I personally think that I pursued the right positions. I always said that the professional work should be done first, either with regard to the border and the bank or the nuclear power plant. Only if the professionals do not find common ground should the settling of these issues be left to politics. I think it is now clear how far they have reached, and where politics should come in.

[Zagorac] If I understand you properly, you believe that professionals had little say in settling the relations between Slovenia and Croatia, while politics was more prominent.

[Peterle] I can hardly accept that the Croat side was not prepared to complete the professional work concerning the border. We may have compared what the cadastral criteria said about the entire length of the border, and thus reached the end, at least according to one criterion, and then, if there had been no political willingness to acknowledge professional criteria everywhere, we should have determined the border according to other criteria. I believe that the proposed professional approach here was correct. However, I have the impression that politics became too involved as early as in the stage of professional work. We can represent professionally different positions where there was no border, but politics must then choose some of it and say: This is the border.

[Zagorac] There are other open issues, the most disturbing being the unresolved problems of the Croatian savers' frozen foreign currency savings in Ljubljana Bank.

[Peterle] Yes, there is the problem with the bank, but there are no professional problems in the area of real estate on either side. In this area it is known what the European standards are, and what the relation toward ownership is, and this only has to be implemented. The issue of the bank is different. I see different professional opinions there concerning where the money went and who spent it. In this issue there are different views of the role of Belgrade. This is where professionals cannot find common ground. I therefore do not have the accurate data concerning who owes what to whom.

[Zagorac] What about the nuclear power plant issue?

[Peterle] I think that politics entered that area too soon. I have always represented the position that it was joint property, 50-50, or perhaps 51 to 49 in favor of Slovenia, since the plant, along with the many consequences, is on our side. However, I was not successful with this position in the government, but I still think that this position could make the starting positions for the continuation of talks much easier.

[Zagorac] In the government delegations' talks at Brdo kod Kranja the Slovene demand was emphasized, assigning the larger part of the nuclear power plant to Slovenia.

[Peterle] Yes, there are certain calculations involving a different relation to the 50-50 one, but Slovenia could make a concession here, just as Croatia could make a concession in some other issue. In short, we should be making compromises in these things.

[Zagorac] To what extent was the Slovene side prepared to acknowledge the Croatian arguments that the

resolving of the frozen foreign currency savings was—to the Croatian authorities—a political issue, among other things?

[Peterle] We acknowledged that to a certain extent, but we insisted on the professional arguments concerning the issue, and things just came to a standstill, so we are in a similar situation here as is the case with Italy, in which our side can be said to claim that formally it owes nothing, but there is a political problem that should be resolved.

[Zagorac] After the changes in the Constitutional Law were adopted by the Slovene Parliament, there was an impression that not only was the resolving of the problem concerning Ljubljana Bank and the frozen foreign currency savings "stopped," but also that a step back was made.

[Peterle] This is a matter of interpretation. I personally did not view this step primarily in relation with Croatia, but rather with our debts abroad. Some other countries have done similar things, and in that sense the Finance Minister Gaspari explained to his Croatian counterpart what the idea behind the move was. Nevertheless, we did acknowledge that part of the Croatian politics had a different interpretation of this. I think that it is in the interest of Slovenia and Croatia that this bank continue to operate. This is what I have been told in the economic circles, and I have always supported the resolving of the problem. I believe we have already discussed the solutions that could be acceptable to both sides.

[Zagorac] Why was the step that could lead to acceptable solutions not made?

[Peterle] The dialogue between the prime ministers somehow died out, and there were no more meetings, although the prime ministers spoke about it after the meeting at Brdo kod Kranja. There were simply no new elements, and I would not like to be critical toward our prime minister, but there was no further coordination in that direction. His engagement did not contribute to the improvement of the situation.

[Zagorac] After the talks between the government delegations, the impression existed in the Slovene public that Croatia was giving in, and that this was good for the Slovene side in the further talks.

[Peterle] I think that Prime Minister Drnovsek was wrong to say that. Even if he thought so, though this was not any special concession, he did a very undiplomatic thing by saying publicly, on the radio, that Croatia had given in. He ruined the guessing this way. You cannot publicly say that your partner has given in, even when you think they did. Personally, I think that there was no giving in, but we were getting closer to solutions. We were coordinating our positions. When two sides talk, they both have to give up a little of their initial positions.

[Zagorac] At the same time, certain maximalist demands toward Croatia appeared in the Slovene legislature,

which can be interpreted as individual demands, but the issue of the "border on the Mirna River" being brought up in the committee for foreign policy cannot be interpreted as someone's private matter.

[Peterle] Naturally. When a representative who sometimes receives the support of the liberal democrats, that is, the entire National Assembly, talks about this issue, the issue assumes a different status. The decision, which has been remedied, concerning the villages along the Dragonja River, has not helped improve the situation, and this is where a liberal democrat played the key role by professionally supporting Jelincic's proposal for entering the names of the villages in the Law on Municipalities, and for determining their areas. He said this was consolidating the position, but I think it was weakening the position. I had to state this in the interest of Slovenia, as foreign minister, and I still claim it was a mistake. However, thank God, this has been remedied.

[Zagorac] Do you think it has?

[Peterle] It has been discarded, that is, frozen, so these villages have a different status. I am sorry, but I do not know what the exact formulation of the change is. I proposed that this not be entered in the law before the border was definitely determined. This case also shows that leaving the open issues open for a longer time always creates more problems. I would therefore really like the job to be continued and finished there.

[Zagorac] You and your colleague, Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Mate Granic, had the idea that the cooperation between the countries, that is, foreign policy, should not be carried out only by Zagreb and Ljubljana. The idea was thus presented that as early as in the beginning of this fall politicians and representatives of local communities along the common border meet and become involved in improving cooperation. Why was this idea abandoned?

[Peterle] Because I handed in my resignation, and somehow there was no time to actualize this idea. I think that this way we could significantly improve the cooperation and mutual trust. I hope this will happen.

[Zagorac] Certain new "connections" in the Slovene legislature emerged in this example of relations with Croatia, such as Drnovsek's LDS and Jelincic's Slovenian National Party [SNS] becoming closer. Could you explain this in more detail?

[Peterle] When the issue is taunting or outvoting the Christian Democrats, then the LDS joins the nationalists, although this is not in accordance with their declared political line. This connection is not common for liberals, but it is for ours, since they are not real liberals yet, so I call this taunting the "old political forces," in which I include Jelincic. The liberals I know from abroad have different principles. The German liberal democrats were thus greater opponents of Communism than the Christian Democrats. Jelincic's nationalists emerged from the left incentives, just as the liberal

democrats, so they are all one family. The liberal democrats will, if they wish to follow their principles to even the minimum extent, have to draw the line. However, if they need a couple of votes in the National Assembly, there will be no such line, and this they have shown several times.

[Zagorac] This was shown in the issue of the villages near the Dragonja River, was it not?

[Peterle] They got together quite soon. Thaler, a liberal democrat, played the key role here. I asked our representatives how they had made up their minds so soon after midnight, and they said: "Thaler said that it was in the interest of Slovenia, as it consolidated the negotiating positions, and that it was along the government line," which is not true, but people believed him, because, being president of the Committee for International Relations, he has authority.

[Zagorac] Considering the present misunderstandings between the SKD and the LDS, and the possibility of the coalition in power becoming weaker, if not the SKD leaving the coalition, how do you see the Slovene political scene in the future?

[Peterle] The LDS behavior concerning our approaching the European Union and settling relations with Italy speaks of retrograde development, prejudice, and fear with which the former authorities appeared in relations with Italy. I am sure that I reached an acceptable compromise there, which would have facilitated different relations. I think that the LDS, without the SKD in the government, will demand interesting compromises with the Associated List of Social Democrats [ULSD]—which does not at all support fast dynamics of social changes, keeping the old privileges—and with Jelenc's nationalists, who sometimes have similar interests. The LDS will therefore find itself between social and national demagoguery. This is a very strong position for the liberal democrats if they want to be at least approximately liberal. A connection with Christian Democrats would be a normal one, but the liberal democrats have so far behaved very much unlike partners. Now this will be a purely mechanical exercise of power, and it will be harmful to Slovenia's democratic development.

[Zagorac] What consequences will this have on the legislative decisionmaking?

[Peterle] I think there will be many difficulties in the National Assembly as it will be difficult to ensure support to the government decisions with such a tight majority.

[Zagorac] Naturally, under the condition that the SKD decides to leave the coalition?

[Peterle] Yes.

[Box 1, p 11]

The Biography

Lojze Peterle graduated in geography, history, and economics from Ljubljana University, and in the former regime he worked in the state City Bureau for Development Planning as research worker and planner, and at the Institute for Social Planning as adviser for the environment protection problems. At the first Slovene postwar free democratic multiparty elections, the five-party coalition DEMOS won, in which Peterle's SKD had the strongest position, so he was entrusted with the position of the first prime minister. Two years later, he was given a vote of no confidence at the Assembly. He devoted himself to working in the party and to the preparations for elections. Six months later, at the parliamentary elections, Peterle's party, SKD, became the second strongest parliamentary party. In early 1993 Peterle thus became deputy prime minister and foreign minister in Dr. Janez Drnovsek's cabinet.

[Box 2, p 11]

I Would Like Us To Be Friends

[Zagorac] Since you were Slovene foreign minister for nearly two years, and you understand the importance of cooperation between neighboring states, what would you say to the Croatian public?

[Peterle] I would like us to be friends in the European spirit, and I would like settled relations between Croatia and Slovenia to contribute to the spreading of the area of stability, peace, and economic progress in Europe. I certainly want Croatia to be a friendly partner for Slovenia. This is how we lived in the past, and it would be proper for us to continue living that way. I would also like to thank the Croatian public for the support to my efforts to promote good relations between our countries.

Federal

UN Envoy: New Resolution Will Not Bring Peace

LD1911234694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2304 GMT 19 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Protected areas in Bosnia make sense only if one assumes an equal approach to all the warring sides and if attacks on these zones are forbidden in the same way as well as attacks from within them, Dragomir Djokic, Yugoslavia's ambassador to the United Nations, said today.

Commenting on two resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council on Saturday, Djokic told journalists that the resolution on NATO air strikes on Krajina Serbs is detrimental because it is aimed against only one side.

"There can be no military solution in Bosnia. A solution can be reached only in a peaceful way and through negotiations," the Yugoslav ambassador said. "I do not believe resolutions of this sort can bring us closer to peace," Djokic went on to say.

Djokic described the resolution which calls on UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali to submit a proposal to redefine the status of protected zones as a useful initiative.

"In this respect one needs to bear in mind that the zones should not be used for any kind of military actions, neither from outside nor from inside. This is the only way to make them useful," Djokic said.

"If the purpose of the zones is that for side to be able to carry out combat actions against the other, then such zones are absolutely senseless," the Yugoslav ambassador concluded.

Radio Comments on U.S. Presence in Balkans

AU1911204094 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 94

[Commentary by Todor Mirkovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several sources and some concrete U.S. actions point to the strengthening of the U.S. military presence in the Balkans in general and in our closest neighborhood in particular. This presence is reflected in the United States' ever increasing and more direct involvement in conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in U.S. activities toward establishing formal military relations with countries in our neighborhood, in attributing increased strategic significance to Turkey, and so on.

In this respect, an article in the London weekly, THE EUROPEAN, on the increasing engagement of the United States in the Bosnian war recently attracted special attention. THE EUROPEAN has in fact only confirmed already known facts, but this time reported it

on the spot, so to speak, and to the world public. Here are some points in the article that are worth pointing out: First, U.S. military advisers are virtually heading preparations for Muslim forces' operations, as well as guiding these operations. Second, U.S. military experts are working on building military infrastructure facilities in some parts of Bosnia. Therefore, the United States seems to have decided in favor of the military option and to be counting on building a firmer and longer-lasting stronghold in this part of the Balkans.

The United States is also attempting to establish a stronghold in the central Balkans by establishing military relations with countries within our strategic neighborhood—Albania, Bulgaria, the Republic of Croatia, and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. When one adds here U.S. attempts to retain military bases in Greece and Turkey, this gives one a more complete picture regarding the United States' interest in the Balkans region and its presence in it.

Until recently, one might hear high-level U.S. officials' statements to the effect that the Balkans region is of a marginal importance to them. However, current U.S. activities show that this is not the case, so one might ask what U.S. interests and aims in the Balkans are at the moment.

The reply to this complex question would require a more profound analysis and a lot of space, but one can nevertheless say that the interests are political and economic, and the aims are strategic. What lies behind the U.S. attitude toward clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its inclination to build a stronghold in that part of the Balkans, are probably U.S. connections with the Arab world—where it gets its oil and sells products of its military industry. The buildup of U.S.-Muslim relations in general may be directed toward harming European unity.

The United States' military buildup and partnership in the south Balkans may be directed toward preventing a possible Russian influence in this part of the Orthodox world, while the strengthening of Croatian-Slovenian positions in the north Balkans may be motivated by the intention to block a possible German breakthrough toward the Balkan south.

Therefore, great games are now being played in the Balkans and around the Balkans, which may have major and far-reaching consequences on other developments in relations in this part of the world and far beyond.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Belarus

LD1811174294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Belarus have officially established diplomatic relations.

The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries have exchanged diplomatic notes to this effect, the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry announced today.

Sanctions Cost FRY, Neighbors \$60 Billion

*LD1811161194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1208
GMT 18 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and neighbouring countries have lost a total of at least 60 billion dollars in the past two years and a half due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Figures released by the Yugoslav Government on Aug. 6 show that the Yugoslav economy alone has lost at least 45 billion dollars. Yugoslav economists say that, even if the sanctions are lifted in 1994, their effects will be felt through the year 2012, when economists estimate the total losses will be as high as 147 billion dollars.

Official Hungarian figures show that the Hungarian economy has lost at least 1.5 billion dollars due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Hungarian economists say that the losses are daily rising.

Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Yevgeniy Matichiev recently said the sanctions against Yugoslavia had cost the Bulgarian economy at least 6 billion dollars. The Bulgarian Government has more than once requested compensation from the United Nations Security Council but to no avail.

Official Romanian figures place the losses due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia at 7 billion dollars at least.

The Government of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has said that the national economy has lost 5 billion dollars since the sanctions against Yugoslavia were introduced in late May 1992.

No official figures have been available in Albania.

Economists in Yugoslavia and neighboring countries say that the sanctions have affected also the economies of other European and even Asian countries.

Official Russian figures place the losses resulting from the sanctions against Yugoslavia at 2 billion dollars at least and the Ukrainian at 4.5 billion.

Serbia

Premier Minister: Balkans Must Be Zone of Peace

*LD1911212894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2045
GMT 19 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 19 (TANJUG)—Serbian Premier Mirko Marjanovic Saturday said the Balkans must be a zone of peace and good-neighborly relations. The Balkans would become this when its own peoples hold the decision-making process in their hands.

Addressing a meeting of the Balkans' Young Socialists, Marjanovic said that all nations must strive for peace, but that, unfortunately, many people did not think this way. 'The policy of the most powerful is not to end the war as soon as possible by finding an equitable solution, but to aid one side in the conflict as much as they can,' Marjanovic said.

Vice-president of the Socialist Party of Serbia Goran Percevic opened the meeting saying that the socialists 'see the future of the Balkans in solidarity, cooperation and establishing ties among our nations.' Percevic said that whenever decisions on the fate of the Balkans were taken by those who did not live in it there were crises and wars in the region. Therefore, young socialists advocated that only peoples from the Balkans should take decisions affecting the region. He said that Yugoslavia 'is a factor of peace, cooperation and bringing together in the Balkans' and that the sanctions against it affected all the Balkan countries and were an obstacle in the way of establishing peace and promoting cultural, economic and spiritual ties in the region.

The meeting, organized by the Young Socialists of Serbia, was attended by the Young Socialists of Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, as well as the young Bosnian Serb and Serb Krajina socialists. Dyonisios Kaloelopulos, secretary-general of the Association of young members of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK], Greece's governing party, said that respecting the rights of minorities was an important factor of stability in the Balkans. Kolin Vasilev, a young socialist from Bulgaria, said that 'the future is before us—we shall make it together.' Adrian Arsene of the Romanian governing Party of Social Democracy said that the Balkans could be made a peaceful, stable and prosperous European region only by joint efforts of all its peoples.

Montenegro

Government Denies Existence of POW Camps

*LD1811182294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620
GMT 18 Nov 94*

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Nov. 18 (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Government [words indistinct] United Nations General Assembly Nov. 3 resolution contains harsh slanders against the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro. The Montenegrin Government said this resolution surpassed all similar resolutions in its untruthfulness. The government protested over the resolution's request that the alleged concentration camps in Serbia and Montenegro be closed and that the International Committee of the Red Cross be given free access to all prisoners-of-war camps in Serbia and Montenegro.

A statement released after a Montenegrin Government session late Thursday said that 'it is common knowledge that Montenegro, throughout its long history full of

battles for freedom, has never had any POW or concentration camps.' The statement said representatives of numerous countries, diplomatic missions and international humanitarian organizations had seen for themselves that no camps existed in Montenegro. The statement said special U.N. human rights rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki had never reported the existence of any such camps in Montenegro or Serbia. The statement said international humanitarian and other organizations officially reported that Montenegro correctly cooperated with the international community. The statement said that Montenegro justly treated the refugees from the war-affected areas of the former Yugoslavia despite the difficult economic situation. The statement said the number of refugees in Montenegro had amounted to 12 percent of the republic's total population since the war in the former Yugoslavia broke out in 1991.

The Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro has more than 615,000 inhabitants. The statement said the Montenegrin Government must regrettably say that the international community's institutions, instead of treating such Montenegro's attitude toward refugees with a positive evaluation and respect, fabricated lies through various resolutions and other documents. The U.N. General Assembly resolution was proposed by Islamic countries, Columbia, Croatia and the United States.

Kosovo

Serbian Army, Police Continue Raids, Arrests

AU1811165794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian army and police still continue to station their forces and carry out exercises in Suhareke and Rrethine, as well as in several villages in Malisheve. Raids against Albanian families still continue, recently becoming more frequent in Prizren, Ferizaj, and Rahovec. Mehmet Haziri is on the line for you:

[Haziri] These exercises, even from the message itself that comes from the head of Serbian army and other Serbian official sources, present a grave provocation against the Albanian unprotected population in Kosova. A grave situation has been reigning in Suhareke and Malisheve communes due to a large presence of Serbian forces.

On 14 November lessons were interrupted in Nishor village in Suhareke, due to the presence of soldiers, heavy armament, tanks, and helicopters in the yards of schools and houses. The soldiers provoked passers-by and frightened them with shooting and powerful explosions of mines.

Serbian army forces have been located in Kravari, Panje, and Pagarushe villages in Malisheve for 10 successive days, carrying out exercises with the participation of helicopters, armored cars, tanks, cannons, and motorized equipment.

The Kosova Information Center reports of raids and arrests of Albanians in Mirash, Rahovice, and Bernik villages in Ferizaj Commune. Raids under the pretext of searching for arms were observed in several districts in Prishtina.

A report from Rahovec states that the Serbian police arrested Xhemali Haxhimustafa, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] and chairman of the communal council of finance in Rahovec. His brother, Shani Haxhimustafa, and Professor Esat Jaha are still held under arrest.

Xhelal Canziba, member of the LDK Presidency in Rahovec and deputy in the Kosova parliament, has been sent to the security center in Prizren.

Raids, arrests, and maltreatments by the Serbian police were reported in other areas in the republic of Kosova.

Agani: Rugova Belgium Visit; 'Manipulations'

AU1911165894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK], gave a news conference today.

Dr. Agani assessed the visit by President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova to Belgium and his meeting with Belgian Senate Chairman Frank Zwillen and with officials and parliamentarians in this country to be another occasion to reiterate the stance of state and political authorities in Kosova that the solution of the Kosova issue be sought in the framework of a global solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia and that Kosova should not be compared with those areas of this territory where force and violence was used and national majority was created through ethnic cleansing. These meetings stressed once again the stance of Albanians that the dialogue with the Serbian side be held in the presence of a third authorized international party that would be a guarantee of the present agreement.

Later at today's news conference, Dr. Agani condemned Serbian terror that kept continuing with undiminished intensity during this week, too.

Dr. Agani protested against the imprisonment of the chairman of the Sports Federation of Kosova, Dr. Mazllum Belegu, and his sentencing to 60 days imprisonment, as well as against the imprisonment and torture of the chairman of LDK branch in Glogovac, Mehdi Bardhi, and against LDK activists in Rahovec Commune.

Dr. Fehmi Agani further commented on several manipulations of Belgrade with the Serbs of Kosova and added that the policy established on national discrimination and state terror cannot be a policy of a permanent crisis and a general defeat, such as the policy of present Serbia. Commenting on a statement by the government of self-proclaimed Yugoslavia regarding Belgrade's stance

on the question of Albanian emigrants, Dr. Agani denounced Serbian assertions that Albanian political authorities have instigated emigration. We have considered this problem as an ultranationalist project to evict Albanians, Agani said. He appealed to all West European countries to consider the possibility of prolonging the eventual expatriation of Albanian emigrants, who will not be safe in Kosova.

LDK, PDP View 'Closer Cooperation'

AU1811171494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Fehmi Agani and Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairmen of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK], received in Prishtina Arber Xhaferri, chairman of the Tetovo-based Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP].

The Kosova Information Center reports that during the meeting, they talked about the current situation in Kosova and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. They also discussed forms of a closer cooperation between the LDK and PDP, including other Albanian parties as well.

Vojvodina

DZVM Warns Against Forcing Ethnic Change

AU1811165694 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Nov 94 p 25

[Report by M. Latinovic: "The Ethnic Structure in Vojvodina Is Being Changed by Force"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian Government's plan to settle over 100,000 refugees from the latest war in Vojvodina dates back to 1992. Since it failed to succeed at the time—the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] informed the United Nations about it, because it believed that it would change the ethnic structure in the region, which the United Nations accepted, and it suspended aid and funds for the project—it has been reactivated to the disadvantage of the Hungarian population in the municipalities where refugee camps are under construction. Such things cannot be good for either the Hungarians or the Serbs in Vojvodina. DZVM Vice President Mr. Janos Vekes is

currently visiting the United States and will be received by the UN Refugee Commission, where he will speak about the issue. I hope that the Commission will again have understanding for this and will prevent the forcible changing of the ethnic structure in Vojvodina, DZVM President Andras Agoston said in Kikinda, which on 13 November hosted the Annual Assembly of the DZVM Regional Committee for northern Banat.

Immediately after the assembly, a meeting of the DZVM Council for Kikinda was also held, at which current social and political issues were reviewed. On this occasion, Agoston addressed the threats made by the governor of the North Banat County, Zdravko Galic, who said that he would undertake certain measures to prevent the erection of a monument to Hungarians killed in 1944 in Senta, Kanjiza, and other places in Pottisje.

Generally speaking, it is good that the local Hungarians wish to mark the place of their compatriots' death in 1944 and 1945 because these people were the innocent victims of the liberators. Moreover, it would be very good if these historical events were reviewed objectively by the Serbs. Those people who wish to pull down our monuments and desecrate the graves of the victims are not on the right path. The Serbian Government must set in order its relations with its minorities if it wishes to integrate into Europe, Agoston stressed.

In an interview for the Horizont program that is broadcast in Hungarian on Radio Kikinda, Agoston said that the rift in the DZVM was a thing of the past, probably alluding to the joint appearance of the DZVM and Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians leaderships at the cemetery in Gornja Varos at the commemoration and unveiling of the monument to the victims in Senta.

Agoston also spoke about the DZVM's request for personal autonomy, and primarily about the opening of Hungarian schools.

The request for a personal autonomy is based on the fact that we wish that the money paid by members of the Hungarian minority in taxes and other revenue is earmarked for education, culture, and information purposes in Hungarian. We are certain that we would be able to organize this to the general satisfaction of all our compatriots in Vojvodina. That is why we shall persist in this, Agoston stressed.

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